Serfojee Rajah 1829

Vol. I.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

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TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK:

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND

A NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.
AND
WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M.A.

THE SIXTH EDITION,
CAREFULLY CORRECTED, AND THE INDEX MUCH AMENDED AND ACCURATELY REVISED THROUGHOUT.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD FOLKESTONE.

MY LORD,

THE ſtyle and genius of dedications in general, have neither done honour to the Patron nor to the Author. Senſible of this, we intended to have publiſhed a work, which has been the labour of years, without the uſual mode of ſoliciting protection. An accident has brought us into the number of Dedicators. Had not you accompanied your noble Father, to our humble retreat, we ſhould ſtill have been unacquainted with your growing virtues, your extraordinary erudition, and perfect knowledge of the Greek language and learning; and Plutarch would have remained as he did in his retirement at Chæronea, where he ſought no patronage but in the boſom of Philoſophy.

ACCEPT, my Lord, this honeſt token of reſpect from men, who, equally independent and unambitious, wiſh only for the countenance of genius and friendſhip.

Praiſe, my Lord, is the uſual language of Dedications: But will our praiſe be of value to you? Will any praiſe be of value to you, but that of your own heart? Follow the example of the EARL OF RADNOR, your illuſtrious father. Like him, maintain that temperate ſpirit of policy, which conſults the Dignity of Government, while it ſupports the Liberty of the Subject. But we put into your hands the beſt of political Preceptors, a Preceptor who trained to virtue the greateſt Monarch upon earth; and, by giving happineſs to the world, enjoyed a pleaſure ſomething like that of the Benevolent Being who created it.

We are,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Moſt obedient, and

Very humble Servants,

J. AND W. LANGHORNE.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S

THE PREFACE.

IF the merit of a Work may be estimated from the universality of its reception, Plutarch's Lives have a claim to the first honours of Literature. No book has been more generally sought after, or read with greater avidity. It was one of the first that were brought out of the retreats of the learned, and translated into the modern languages. Amiot, Abbé of Bellozane, published a French translation of it in the reign of Henry the Second; and from that work it was translated into English, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

It is said by those who are not willing to allow Shakspeare much learning, that he availed himself of the last-mentioned translation; but they seem to forget that, in order to support their arguments of this kind, it is necessary for them to prove that Plato too was translated into English at the same time; for the celebrated soliloquy, "To be, or not "to be," is taken, almost verbatim, from that philosopher; yet we have never found that Plato was translated in those times.

Amiot was a man of great industry and considerable learning. He sought diligently in the libraries of Rome and Venice for those Lives of Plutarch which are lost; and though his search was unsuccessful, it had this good effect, that, by meeting with

a variety of manuſcripts, and comparing them with the printed copies, he was enabled in many places to rectify the text. This was a very eſſential circumſtance; for a few ancient writers had ſuffered more than Plutarch from the careleſſneſs of printers and tranſcribers; and, with all his merit, it was his fate, for a long time, to find no able reſtorer. The Schoolmen deſpiſed his Greek, becauſe it had not the purity of Xenophon, nor the Attic terſeneſs of Ariſtophanes; and, on that account, very unreaſonably beſtowed their labours on thoſe that wanted them leſs. Amiot's Tranſlation was publiſhed in the year 1558; but no reputable edition of the Greek text of Plutarch appeared till that of Paris in 1624. The above-mentioned tranſlation, however, though drawn from an imperfect text, paſſed through many editions, and was ſtill read, till Dacier, under better auſpices, and in better times, attempted a new one; which he executed with great elegance, and tolerable accuracy. The text he followed was not ſo correct as might have been wiſhed; for the London edition of Plutarch was not then publiſhed. However, the French language being at that time in great perfection, and the faſhionable language of almoſt every court in Europe, Dacier's tranſlation came not only into the libraries, but into the hands of men. Plutarch was univerſally read, and no book in thoſe times had a more extenſive ſale, or went through a greater number of impreſſions. The tranſlator had, indeed, acquitted himſelf in one reſpect with great happineſs. His book was not found to be French Greek. He had carefully followed that rule, which no tranſlator ought ever to loſe ſight of, the great rule of humouring the genius, and maintaining the ſtructure

of

of his own language. For this purpoſe he frequently broke the long and embarraſſed periods of the Greek; and by dividing and ſhortening them in his tranſlation, he gave them greater perſpicuity and a more eaſy movement. Yet ſtill he was faithful to his original; and where he did not miſtake him, which indeed he ſeldom did, conveyed his ideas with clearneſs, though not without verboſity. His tranſlation had another diſtinguiſhed advantage. He enriched it with a variety of explanatory notes. There are ſo many readers who have no competent acquaintance with the cuſtoms of antiquity, the laws of the ancient ſtates, the ceremonies of their religion, and the remoter and minuter parts of their hiſtory and genealogy, that to have an account of theſe matters ever before the eye, and to travel with a guide who is ready to deſcribe to us every object we are unacquainted with, is a privilege equally convenient and agreeable. But here the annotator ought to have ſtopped. Satisfied with removing the difficulties uſually ariſing in the circumſtances above-mentioned, he ſhould not have ſwelled his pages with idle declamations on trite morals and obvious ſentiments. Amiot's margins, indeed, are every where crowded with ſuch. In thoſe times they followed the method of the old Divines, which was, to make practical improvements of every matter; but it is ſomewhat ſtrange that Dacier, who wrote in a more enlightened age, ſhould fall into that beaten track of inſipid moralizing, and be at pains to ſay what every one muſt know. Perhaps, as the commentator of Plutarch, he conſidered himſelf as a kind of travelling companion to the reader; and, agreeably to the manners of his country, he meant to ſhew his politeneſs by never holding his peace. The apology he

makes for deducing and detailing these flat precepts, is the view of instructing younger minds. He had not philosophy enough to consider, that to anticipate the conclusions of such minds, in their pursuit of history and characters, is to prevent their proper effect. When examples are placed before them, they will not fail to make right inferences; but if those are made for them, the didactic air of information destroys their influence.

After the old English translation of Plutarch, which was professedly taken from Amiot's French, no other appeared till the time of Dryden. That great man, who is never to be mentioned without pity and admiration, was prevailed upon, by his necessities, to head a company of translators; and to lend the sanction of his glorious name to a translation of Plutarch, written, as he himself acknowledges, by almost as many hands as there were lives. That this motley work was full of errors, inequalities, and inconsistencies, is not in the least to be wondered at. Of such a variety of translators, it would have been very singular if some had not failed in learning, and some in language. The truth is, that the greatest part of them were deficient in both. Indeed, their task was not easy. To translate Plutarch under any circumstances would require no ordinary skill in the language and antiquities of Greece: But to attempt it whilst the text was in a depraved state; unsettled and unrectified; abounding with errors, misnomers, and transpositions; this required much greater abilities than fell to the lot of that body of translators in general. It appears, however, from the execution of their undertaking, that they gave themselves no great concern about the difficulties

that

that attended it. Some few blundered at the Greek; ſome drew from the Scholiaſt's Latin; and others, more humble, trode ſcrupulouſly in the paces of Amiot. Thus copying the idioms of different languages, they proceeded like the workmen at Babel, and fell into a confuſion of tongues, while they attempted to ſpeak the ſame. But the diverſities of ſtyle were not the greateſt fault of this ſtrange tranſlation. It was full of the groſſeſt errors. Ignorance on the one hand, and haſtineſs or negligence on the other, had filled it with abſurdities in every life, and inaccuracies in almoſt every page. The language, in general, was inſupportably tame, tedious, and embarraſſed. The periods had no harmony; the phraſeology had no elegance, no ſpirit, no preciſion.

Yet this is the laſt tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives that has appeared in the Engliſh language, and the only one that is now read.

It muſt be owned, that when Dacier's tranſlation came abroad, the proprietor of Dryden's copy endeavoured to repair it. But how was this done? Not by the application of learned men, who might have rectified the errors by conſulting the original, but by a mean recourſe to the labours of Dacier. Where the French tranſlator had differed from the Engliſh, the opinions of the latter were religiouſly given up; and ſometimes a period, and ſometimes a page, were tranſlated anew from Dacier; while, in due compliment to him, the idiom of his language, and every *tour d'expreſſion* were moſt ſcrupulouſly preſerved. Nay, the editors of that edition, which was publiſhed in 1727, did more. They not only

paid Dacier the compliment of mixing his French with their English, but while they borrowed his notes, they adopted even the moſt frivolous and ſuperfluous comments that eſcaped his pen.

Thus the Engliſh Plutarch's Lives, at firſt ſo heterogeneous and abſurd, received but little benefit from this whimſical reparation. Dacier's beſt notes were, indeed, of ſome value; but the patch-work alterations the editors had drawn from his tranſlation, made their book appear ſtill more like Otway's Old Woman, whoſe gown of many colours ſpoke

——— variety of wretchedneſs.

This tranſlation continued in the ſame form upwards of thirty years. But in the year 1758 the proprietor engaged a gentleman of abilities, very different from thoſe who had formerly been employed, to give it a ſecond purgation. He ſuceeded as well as it was poſſible for any man of the beſt judgment and learning to ſucceed, in an attempt of that nature. That is to ſay, he rectified a multitude of errors, and in many places endeavoured to mend the miſerable language. Two of the Lives he tranſlated anew; and this he executed in ſuch a manner, that, had he done the whole, the preſent tranſlators would never have thought of the undertaking. But two Lives out of fifty made a very ſmall part of this great work; and though he rectified many errors in the old tranſlation, yet, where almoſt every thing was error, it is no wonder if many eſcaped him. This was, indeed, the caſe. In the courſe of our Notes we had remarked a great number; but, apprehenſive that ſuch a continual attention to the faults of a former tranſlation might appear invidious, we expunged

punged the greateſt part of the remarks, and ſuffered ſuch only to remain as might teſtify the propriety of our preſent undertaking. Beſides, though the ingenious reviſer of the edition of 1758 might repair the language where it was moſt palpably deficient, it was impoſſible for him to alter the caſt and complexion of the whole. It would ſtill retain its inequalities, its tameneſs, and heavy march; its mixture of idioms, and the irkſome train of far-connected periods. Theſe it ſtill retains; and, after all the operations it has gone through, remains

Like ſome patch'd dog-hole eked with ends of wall!

In this view of things, the neceſſity of a new tranſlation is obvious; and the hazard does not appear to be great. With ſuch competitors for the public favour, the conteſt has neither glory nor danger attending it. But the labour and attention neceſſary, as well to ſecure as to obtain that favour, neither are, nor ought to be leſs: And with whatever ſucceſs the preſent tranſlators may be thought to have executed their undertaking, they will always at leaſt have the merit of a diligent deſire to diſcharge this public duty faithfully.

Where the text of Plutarch appeared to them erroneous, they have ſpared no pains, and neglected no means in their power, to rectify it.

Senſible that the great art of a tranſlator is to prevent the peculiarities of his Author's language from ſtealing into his own, they have been particularly attentive to this point, and have generally endeavoured to keep their Engliſh unmixed with Greek. At the ſame time it muſt be obſerved, that there is

frequently a great ſimilarity in the ſtructure of the two languages; yet that reſemblance in ſome inſtances, makes it the more neceſſary to guard againſt it on the whole This care is of the greater conſequence, becauſe Plutarch's Lives generally paſs through the hands of young people, who ought to read their own language in its native purity, unmixed and untainted with the idioms of different tongues. For their ſakes too, as well as for the ſake of readers of a different claſs, we have omitted ſome paſſages in the text, and have only ſignified the omiſſion by aſteriſms. Some, perhaps, may cenſure us for taking too great a liberty with our Author in this circumſtance: However, we muſt beg leave in that inſtance to abide by our own opinion; and ſure we are, that we ſhould have cenſured no tranſlator for the ſame. Could every thing of that kind have been omitted, we ſhould have been ſtill leſs diſſatisfied; but ſometimes the chain of the narrative would not admit of it, and the diſagreeable parts were to be got over with as much decency as poſſible.

In the deſcriptions of battles, camps, and ſieges, it is more than probable that we may ſometimes be miſtaken in the military terms. We have endeavoured, however, to be as accurate in this reſpect as poſſible, and to acquaint ourſelves with this kind of knowledge as well as our ſituations would permit; but we will not promiſe the reader that we have always ſuceeded. Where ſomething ſeemed to have fallen out of the text, or where the ellipſis was too violent for the forms of our language, we have not ſcrupled to maintain the tenor of the narrative, or the chain of reaſon, by ſuch little inſertions as appeared to be neceſſary for the purpoſe. Theſe ſhort

inſertions

inſertions we at firſt put between hooks; but as that deformed the page, without anſwering any material purpoſe, we ſoon rejected it.

Such are the liberties we have taken with Plutarch; and the learned, we flatter ourſelves, will not think them too great. Yet there is one more, which, if we could have preſumed upon it, would have made his book infinitely more uniform and agreeable. We often wiſhed to throw out of the text into the notes thoſe tedious and digreſſive comments that ſpoil the beauty and order of his narrative, mortify the expectation, frequently, when it is moſt eſſentially intereſted, and deſtroy the natural influence of his ſtory, by turning the attention into a different channel. What, for inſtance, can be more irkſome and impertinent, than a long diſſertation on a point of natural philoſophy ſtarting up at the very criſis of ſome important action? Every reader of Plutarch muſt have felt the pain of theſe unſeaſonable digreſſions; but we could not, upon our own pleaſure or authority, remove them.

In the Notes we have proſecuted theſe ſeveral intentions. We have endeavoured to bring the Engliſh reader acquainted with the Greek and Roman Antiquities; where Plutarch had omitted any thing remarkable in the Lives, to ſupply it from other authors, and to make his book in ſome meaſure a general hiſtory of the periods under his pen. In the Notes too we have aſſigned reaſons for it, where we have differed from the former tranſlators.

This part of our work is neither wholly borrowed, nor altogether original. Where Dacier or

other annotators offered us any thing to the purpose, we have not ſcrupled to make uſe of it; and, to avoid the endleſs trouble of citations, we make this acknowledgment once for all. The number of original notes the learned reader will find to be very conſiderable: But there are not ſo many notes of any kind in the latter part of the work; becauſe the manners and cuſtoms, the religious ceremonies, laws, ſtate-offices, and forms of government, among the ancients, being explained in the firſt Lives, much did not remain for the buſineſs of information.

Four of Plutarch's Parallels are ſuppoſed to be loſt: Thoſe of Themiſtocles and Camillus; Pyrrhus and Marius; Phocion and Cato; Alexander and Cæſar. Theſe Dacier ſupplies by others of his own compoſition; but ſo different from thoſe of Plutarch, that they have little right to be incorporated with his Works.

The neceſſary Chronological Tables, together with Tables of Money, Weights, and Meaſures, and a copious Index, have been provided for this tranſlation; of which we may truly ſay, that it wants no other advantages than ſuch as the Tranſlators had not power to give.

THE

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

As, in the progreſs of life, we firſt paſs through ſcenes of innocence, peace, and fancy, and afterwards encounter the vices and diſorders of ſociety; ſo we ſhall here amuſe ourſelves awhile in the peaceful ſolitude of the philoſopher, before we proceed to thoſe more animated, but leſs pleaſing objects he deſcribes.

Nor will the view of a philoſopher's life be leſs inſtructive than his labours. If the latter teach us how great vices, accompanied with great abilities, may tend to the ruin of a ſtate;—if they inform us how Ambition attended with magnanimity, how Avarice directed by political ſagacity, how Envy and Revenge armed with perſonal valour and popular ſupport, will deſtroy the moſt ſacred eſtabliſhments, and break through every barrier of human repoſe and ſafety; the former will convince us that equanimity is more deſirable than the higheſt privileges of mind, and that the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſituations in life, are leſs to be envied than thoſe quiet allotments, where Science is the ſupport of Virtue.

Pindar and Epaminondas had, long before Plutarch's time, redeemed, in ſome meaſure, the credit of Bœotia, and reſcued the inhabitants of that country from the proverbial imputation of ſtupidity. When Plutarch appeared, he confirmed the reputation it had recovered. He ſhewed that genius is not the growth of any particular ſoil; and, that its cultivation requires no peculiar qualities of climate.

Chæronea,

Chæronea, a town in Bœotia, between Phocis and Attica, had the honour to give him birth. This place was remarkable for nothing but the tameneſs and ſervility of its inhabitants, whom Anthony's ſoldiers made beaſts of burthen, and obliged to carry their corn upon their ſhoulders to the coaſt. As it lay between two ſeas, and was partly ſhut up by mountains, the air, of courſe, was heavy, and truly Bœotian. But ſituations as little favoured by nature as Chæronea, have given birth to the greateſt men; of which the celebrated Locke and many others are inſtances.

Plutarch himſelf acknowledges the ſtupidity of the Bœotians in general; but he imputes it rather to their diet than to their air: for, in his Treatiſe on Animal Food, he intimates, that a groſs indulgence in that article, which was uſual with his countrymen, contributes greatly to obſcure the intellectual faculties.

It is not eaſy to aſcertain in what year he was born. Ruauld places it about the middle of the reign of Claudius; others, towards the end of it. The following circumſtance is the only foundation they have for their conjectures.

Plutarch ſays, that he ſtudied philoſophy under Ammonius, at Delphi, when Nero made his progreſs into Greece. This, we know, was in the twelfth year of that Emperor's reign, in the conſulſhip of Paulinus Suetonius and Pontius Teleſinus, the ſecond year of the Olympiad 211, and the ſixty ſixth of the Chriſtian Æra. Dacier obſerves, that Plutarch muſt have been ſeventeen or eighteen at leaſt, when he was engaged in the abſtruſe ſtudies of philoſophy; and he, therefore, fixes his birth about five or ſix years before the death of Claudius. This, however, is bare ſuppoſition; and that, in our opinion, not of the moſt probable kind. The youth of Greece ſtudied under the philoſophers very early; for their works, with thoſe of the poets and rhetoricians, formed their chief courſe of diſcipline.

But to determine whether he was born under the reign of Claudius, or in the early part of Nero's reign (which we the rather believe, as he ſays himſelf, that he was very young when Nero entered Greece); to make it clearly underſtood, whether he ſtudied at Delphi at ten, or at eighteen years of age, is of much leſs conſequence, than it is to know by what means, and under what auſpices, he

acquired

acquired that humane and rational philoſophy which is diſtinguiſhed in his works.

Ammonius was his preceptor; but of him we know little more than what his ſcholar has accidentally let fall concerning him. He mentions a ſingular inſtance of his manner of correcting his pupils. "Our maſter," ſays he, "having one day obſerved that we had indulged ourſelves "too luxuriouſly at dinner, at his afternoon lecture, ordered his freedman to give his own ſon the diſcipline "of the whip, in our preſence; ſignifying, at the ſame "time, that he ſuffered this puniſhment, becauſe he "could not eat his victuals without ſauce. The philo"ſopher all the while had his eye upon us, and we knew "well for whom this example of puniſhment was intend"ed." This circumſtance ſhews, at leaſt, that Ammonius was not of the ſchool of Epicurus. The ſeverity of of his diſcipline, indeed, ſeems rather of the Stoic caſt; but it is moſt probable, that he belonged to the Academicians; for their ſchools, at that time, had the greateſt reputation in Greece.

It was a happy circumſtance in the diſcipline of thoſe ſchools, that the parent only had the power of corporal puniſhment: the rod and the ferula were ſnatched from the hand of the petty tyrant: his office alone was to inform the mind: he had no authority to daſtardize the ſpirit: he had no power to extinguiſh the generous flame of freedom, or to break down the noble independency of ſoul, by the ſlaviſh, debaſing, and degrading application of the rod. This mode of puniſhment in our public ſchools is one of the worſt remains of barbariſm that prevails among us. Senſible minds, however volatile and inattentive in early years, may be drawn to their duty by many means, which ſhame, and fears of a more liberal nature than thoſe of corporal puniſhment, will ſupply. Where there is but little ſenſibility, the effect which that mode of puniſhment produces is not more happy. It deſtroys that little; though it ſhould be the firſt care and labour of the preceptor to increaſe it. To beat the body, is to debaſe the mind. Nothing ſo ſoon, or ſo totally aboliſhes the ſenſe of ſhame; and yet that ſenſe is at once the beſt preſervative of virtue, and the greateſt incentive to every ſpecies of excellence.

Another principal advantage, which the ancient mode of the Greek education gave its pupils, was their early

acceſs

acceſs to every branch of philoſophical learning. They did not, like us, employ their youth in the acquiſition of words: they were engaged in purſuits of a higher nature; in acquiring the knowledge of things. They did not, like us, ſpend ſeven or ten years of ſcholaſtic labour, in making a general acquaintance with two dead languages. Thoſe years were employed in the ſtudy of nature, and in gaining the elements of philoſophical knowledge from her original economy and laws. Hence all that Dacier has obſerved concerning the probability of Plutarch's being ſeventeen or eighteen years of age when he ſtudied under Ammonius, is without the leaſt weight.

The way to mathematical and philoſophical knowledge was, indeed, much more eaſy among the ancient Greeks than it can ever be with us. Thoſe, and every other ſcience, are bound up in terms, which we can never underſtand preciſely, till we become acquainted with the languages from which they are derived. Plutarch, when he learnt the Roman language, which was not till he was ſomewhat advanced in life, obſerved, that he got the knowledge of words from his knowledge of things. But we lie under the neceſſity of reverſing his method; and before we can arrive at the knowledge of things, we muſt firſt labour to obtain the knowledge of words.

However, though the Greeks had acceſs to ſcience without the acquiſition of other languages, they were, nevertheleſs, ſufficiently attentive to the cultivation of their own. Philology, after the mathematics and philoſophy, was one of their principal ſtudies; and they applied themſelves conſiderably to critical inveſtigation.

A proof of this we find in that Diſſertation which Plutarch hath given us on the word ει, engraved on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. In this tract he introduces the ſcholaſtic diſputes, wherein he makes a principal figure. After giving us the various ſignifications which others aſſigned to this word, he adds his own idea of it; and that is of ſome conſequence to us, becauſe it ſhews us that he was not a polytheiſt. "Ει, ſays he, *Thou art*; as if it "were Ει ἑν, *Thou art one*. I mean not in the aggregate "ſenſe, as we ſay, one army, or one body of men com"poſed of many individuals; but that which exiſts di"ſtinctly muſt neceſſarily be one; and the very idea of "Being implies individuality. One is that which is a

"ſimple

"ſimple Being, free from mixture and compoſition. To "be one, therefore, in this ſenſe, is conſiſtent only with "a nature entire in its firſt principle, and incapable of "alteration or decay."

So far we are perfectly ſatisfied with Plutarch's creed, but not with his criticiſm. To ſuppoſe that the word εἰ ſhould ſignify the exiſtence of one God only, is to hazard too much upon conjecture; and the whole tenor of the Heathen theology makes againſt it.

Nor can we be better pleaſed with the other interpretations of this celebrated word. We can never ſuppoſe, that it barely ſignified *if*; intimating thereby, that the buſineſs of thoſe who viſited the temple was inquiry, and that they came to aſk the Deity, *if* ſuch events ſhould come to paſs. This conſtruction is too much forced; and it would do as well, or even better, were the εἰ interpreted, *if* you make large preſents to the God, *if* you pay the prieſt.

Were not this inſcription an object of attention among the learned, we ſhould not, at this diſtant period of time, have thought it worth mentioning, otherwiſe than as it gives us an idea of one branch of Plutarch's education. But, as a ſingle word, inſcribed on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, cannot but be matter of curioſity with thoſe who carry their inquiries into remote antiquity, we ſhall not ſcruple to add one more to the other conjectures concerning it.

We will ſuppoſe then, that the word εἰ was here uſed, in the Ionic dialect, for εἴθε, *I wiſh*. This perfectly expreſſed the ſtate of mind of all that entered the temple on the buſineſs of conſultation; and it might be no leſs emphatical in the Greek than Virgil's *Quanquam O!* was in the Latin. If we carry this conjecture farther, and think it probable, that this word might, as the initial word of a celebrated line in the third book of the Odyſſey, ſtand there to ſignify the whole line, we ſhall reach a degree of probability almoſt bordering on certainty. The verſe we allude to is this:

Ει γαρ ἐμοι τοσσηνδε θεοι δυναμιν παραθειεν!

"O that the Gods would empower me to obtain my "wiſhes!" What prayer more proper on entering the

temples

temples of the Gods, particularly with the view of consulting them on the events of life.

If it ſhould be thought, that the initial word is inſufficient to repreſent a whole verſe, we have to anſwer, that it was agreeable to the cuſtom of the ancients. They not only conveyed the ſenſe of particular verſes by their initial words, but frequently of large paſſages by the quotation of a ſingle line, or even of half a line; ſome inſtances of which occur in the following Lives. The reaſon of this is obvious. The works of their beſt poets were almoſt univerſally committed to memory; and the ſmalleſt quotation was ſufficient to convey the ſenſe of a whole paſſage.

Theſe obſervations are matters of mere curioſity, indeed; but they have had their uſe: for they have naturally pointed out to us another inſtance of the excellence of that education which formed our young philoſopher.

This was the improvement of the memory, by means of exerciſe.

Mr. Locke has juſtly, though obviouſly enough, obſerved, that nothing ſo much ſtrengthens this faculty as the employment of it.

The Greek mode of education muſt have had a wonderful effect in this caſe. The continual exerciſe of the memory, in laying up the treaſures of their poets, the precepts of their philoſophers, and the problems of their mathematicians, muſt have given it that mechanical power of retention, which nothing could eaſily eſcape. Thus Pliny * tells us of a Greek called Charmidas, who could repeat from memory the contents of the largeſt library.

The advantages Plutarch derived from this exerciſe, appear in every part of his works. As the writings of poets lived in his memory, they were ready for uſe and application on every appoſite occaſion. They were always at hand, either to confirm the ſentiments, and juſtify the principles of his heroes, to ſupport his own, or to illuſtrate both.

By the aid of a cultivated memory too, he was enabled to write a number of cotemporary Lives, and to aſſign to each ſuch a portion of buſineſs in the general tranſactions of

* Hiſt. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 24.

of the times, as might be ſufficient to delineate the character, without repeated details of the ſame actions and negociations. This made a very difficult part of his work; and he acquitted himſelf here with great management and addreſs. Sometimes, indeed, he has repeated the ſame circumſtances in cotemporary lives; but it was hardly avoidable. The great wonder is, that he has done it ſo ſeldom.

But though an improved memory might, in this reſpect, be of ſervice to him, as undoubtedly it was, there were others in which it was rather a diſadvantage. By truſting too much to it, he has fallen into inaccuracies and inconſiſtencies, where he was profeſſedly drawing from preceding writers; and we have often been obliged to rectify his miſtakes, by conſulting thoſe authors, becauſe he would not be at the pains to conſult them himſelf.

If Plutarch might properly be ſaid to belong to any ſect of philoſophers, his education, the rationality of his principles, and the modeſty of his doctrines, would incline us to place him with the latter academy. At leaſt, when he left his maſter Ammonius, and came into ſociety, it is more than probable, that he ranked particularly with that ſect.

His writings, however, furniſh us with many reaſons for thinking, that he afterwards became a citizen of the philoſophical world. He appears to have examined every ſect with a calm and unprejudiced attention; to have ſelected what he found of uſe for the purpoſes of virtue and happineſs; and to have left the reſt for the portion of thoſe whoſe narrowneſs of mind could think either ſcience or felicity confined to any denomination of men.

From the Academicians he took their modeſty of opinion, and left them their original ſcepticiſm: he borrowed their rational theology, and gave up to them, in a great meaſure, their metaphyſical refinements, together with their vain, though ſeductive, enthuſiaſm.

With the Peripatetics, he walked in ſearch of natural ſcience, and of logic; but, ſatisfied with whatever practical knowledge might be acquired, he left them to dream over the hypothetical part of the former, and to chaſe the ſhadows of reaſon through the mazes of the latter.

To the Stoics, he was indebted for the belief of a particular Providence; but he could not enter into their idea

of future rewards and punishments. He knew not how to reconcile the present agency of the Supreme Being with his judicial character hereafter; though Theodoret tells us, that he had heard of the Christian religion, and inserted several of its mysteries in his works*. From the Stoics too, he borrowed the doctrine of fortitude: but he rejected the unnatural foundation on which they erected that virtue. He went back to Socrates for principles whereon to rest it.

With the Epicureans he does not seem to have had much intercourse, though the accommodating philosophy of Aristippus entered frequently into his politics, and sometimes into the general economy of his life. In the little states of Greece that philosophy had not much to do; but had it been adopted in the more violent measures of the Roman Administration, our celebrated biographer would not have had such scenes of blood and ruin to describe; for emulation, prejudice, and opposition, upon whatever principles they might plead their apology, first struck out the fire that laid the Commonwealth in ashes. If Plutarch borrowed any thing more from Epicurus, it was his rational idea of enjoyment. That such was his idea, it is more than probable; for it is impossible to believe the tales that the Heathen bigots have told of him, or to suppose that the cultivated mind of a philosopher should pursue its happiness out of the temperate order of nature. His irreligious opinions he left to him, as he had left to the other sects their vanities and absurdities.

But when we bring him to the school of Pythagoras, what idea shall we entertain of him? Shall we consider him any longer as an Academician, or as a citizen of the philosophical world? Naturally benevolent and humane, he finds a system of divinity and philosophy perfectly adapted to his natural sentiments. The whole animal creation he had originally looked upon with an instinctive tenderness; but when the amiable Pythagoras, the priest of Nature, in defence of the common privileges of her creatures, had called religion into their cause;—when he sought to soften the cruelty that man had exercised against them, by the honest art of insinuating the doctrine of transmigration,

* Nothing of Plutarch's is now extant, from which we can infer, that he was acquainted with the Christian religion.

transmigration, how could the humane and benevolent Plutarch refuse to serve under this priest of Nature? It was impossible. He adopted the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. He entered into the merciful scheme of Pythagoras, and, like him, diverted the cruelty of the human species, by appealing to the selfish qualities of their nature, by subduing their pride, and exciting their sympathy, while he shewed them that their future existence might be the condition of a reptile.

This spirit and disposition break strongly from him in his observations on the elder Cato. And as nothing can exhibit a more lively picture of him than these paintings of his own, we shall not scruple to introduce them here: "For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants "like so many beasts of burthen, and turning them off, "or selling them when they grew old, to the account of "a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the "sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. "But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice. The "obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, "but kindness and beneficence should be extended to "creatures of every species; and these still flow from "the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue "from the living fountain. A good man will take care "of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, "but when old and past service. Thus the people of "Athens, when they had finished the Temple called "Hecatompedon, set at liberty the beasts of burthen that "had been chiefly employed in the work, suffering them "to pasture at large, free from any other service. It is "said, that one of these afterwards came of its own ac-"cord to work, and putting itself at the head of the la-"bouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel. "This pleased the people, and they made a decree, that "it should be kept at the public charge so long as it "lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, with which he "thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still to be "seen near his own tomb. Many have shewn particular "marks of regard, in burying the dogs which they had "cherished and been fond of; and amongst the rest, "Xantippus of old, whose dog swam by the side of his "galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to "abandon their city, and was afterwards buried by him "upon a promontory, which to this day is called the

"Dog's Grave. We certainly ought not to treat living "creatures like ſhoes or houſehold goods, which, when "worn out with uſe, we throw away; and were it only "to learn benevolence to human kind, we ſhould be "merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would "not ſell even an old ox that had laboured for me; much "leſs would I remove, for the ſake of a little money, a *man* "grown old in my ſervice, from his uſual lodgings and "diet: for to him, poor man! it would be as bad as "baniſhment, ſince he could be of no more uſe to the "buyer than he was to the ſeller. But Cato, as if he "took a pride in theſe things, tells us, that when con-"ſul, he left his war-horſe in Spain, to ſave the public "the charge of his conveyance. Whether ſuch things as "theſe are inſtances of greatneſs or littleneſs of ſoul, let "the reader judge for himſelf."

What an amiable idea of our benevolent philoſopher! How worthy the inſtructions of the prieſt of Nature! How honourable to that geat maſter of truth and univerſal ſcience, whoſe ſentiments were deciſive in every doubtful matter, and whoſe maxims were received with ſilent conviction*!

Wherefore ſhould we wonder to find Plutarch more particularly attached to the opinions of this great man? Whether we conſider the immenſity of his erudition, or the benevolence of his ſyſtem, the motives for that attachment were equally powerful. Pythagoras had collected all the ſtores of human learning, and had reduced them into one rational and uſeful body of ſcience. Like our glorious Bacon, he led Philoſophy forth from the jargon of ſchools, and the fopperies of ſects. He made her what ſhe was originally deſigned to be, the handmaid of Nature; friendly to her creatures, and faithful to her laws. Whatever knowledge could be gained by human induſtry, by the moſt extenſive inquiry and obſervation, he had every means and opportunity to obtain. The prieſts of Egypt unfolded to him their myſteries and their learning: they led him through the records of the remoteſt antiquity, and opened all thoſe ſtores of ſcience that had been amaſſing through a multitude of ages. The Magi of Perſia co-operated with the prieſts of Egypt in the inſtruction of this wonderful philoſopher. They taught

* Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 15.

taught him thofe higher parts of fcience, by which they were themfelves fo much diftinguifhed, aftronomy and the fyftem of the univerfe. The laws of moral life, and the inftitutions of civil focieties, with their feveral excellencies and defects, he learnt from the various ftates and eftablifhments of Greece. Thus accomplifhed, when he came to difpute in the Olympic contefts, he was confidered as a prodigy of wifdom and learning; but when the choice of his title was left to him, he modeftly declined the appellation of a *wife man*, and was contended only to be called a *lover of wifdom* *.

Shall not Plutarch then meet with all imaginable indulgence, if, in his veneration for this great man, he not only adopted the nobler parts of his philofophy, but (what he had avoided with regard to the other fects) followed him too in his errors? Such, in particular, was his doctrine of dreams; to which our biographer, we muft confefs, has paid too much attention. Yet abfolutely to condemn him for this, would, perhaps, be hazarding as much as totally to defend him. We muft acknowledge, with the elder Pliny, *Si exemplis agatur, profectò paria fiant* †; or, in the language of honeft Sir Roger de Coverley, "Much may be faid on both fides." However, if Pliny, whofe complaifance for the credit of the marvellous in particular was very great, could be doubtful about this matter, we of little faith may be allowed to be more fo. Yet Plutarch, in his Treatife on Oracles, has maintained his doctrine by fuch powerful Teftimonies, that if any regard is to be paid to his veracity, fome attention fhould be given to his opinion. We fhall therefore leave the point, where Mr. Addifon thought proper to leave a more improbable doctrine, in fufpence.

When Zeno confulted the oracle in what manner he fhould live, the anfwer was, that he fhould inquire of the dead. Affiduous and indefatigable application to reading made a confiderable part of the Greek education; and in this our biographer feems to have exerted the greateft induftry. The number of books he has quoted, to which he has referred, and from which he has written, feems almoft incredible, when it is confidered, that the art of printing was not known in his time, and that the purchafe of manufcripts was difficult and dear.

His

* Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 7.

† Hift. Nat. lib. x. cap. 75.

His family, indeed, was not without wealth. In his Sympoſiacs, he tells us, that it was ancient in Chæronea; and that his anceſtors had been inveſted with the moſt conſiderable offices in the magiſtracy. He mentions in particular his great-grandfather Nicarchus, whom he had the happineſs of knowing; and relates, from his authority, the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens, under the ſevere diſcipline of Anthony's ſoldiers.

His grandfather Lamprias, he tells us, was a man of great eloquence, and of a brilliant imagination. He was diſtinguiſhed by his merit as a convivial companion; and was one of thoſe happy mortals, who, when they ſacrifice to Bacchus, are favoured by Mercury. His good-humour and pleaſantry increaſed with his cups; and he uſed to ſay, that wine had the ſame effect upon him, that fire has on incenſe, which cauſes the fineſt and richeſt eſſences to evaporate.

Plutarch has mentioned his father likewiſe; but has not given us his name in any of thoſe writings that are come down to us. However, he has borne honourable teſtimony to his memory; for he tells us, that he was a learned and a virtuous man, well acquainted with the philoſophy and theology of his time, and converſant with the works of the Poets. Plutarch, in his Political Precepts, mentions an inſtance of his father's diſcretion, which does him great honour. "I remember," ſays he, "that I was ſent, when a very young man, along with "another citizen of Chæronea, on an embaſſy to the "proconſul. My colleague being, by ſome accident, "obliged to ſtop in the way, I proceeded without him, "and executed our commiſſion. Upon my return to "Chæronea, when I was to give an account in public "of my negociation, my father took me aſide, and ſaid, "My ſon, take care that in the account you are about "to give, you do not mention yourſelf diſtinctly, but "jointly with your colleague. Say not, *I went*, *I ſpoke*, "*I executed*; but *we went*, *we ſpake*, *we executed*. Thus, "though your colleague was incapable of attending you, "he will ſhare in the honour of your ſucceſs, as well as "in that of your appointment; and you will avoid that "envy which neceſſarily follows all arrogated merit."

Plutarch had two brothers, whoſe names were Timon and Lamprias. Theſe were his aſſociates in ſtudy and amuſement; and he always ſpeaks of them with pleaſure

 and

and affection. Of Timon in particular he says, "Though "Fortune has, on many occasions, been favourable to "me, yet I have no obligations to her so great as the "enjoyment of my brother Timon's invariable friendship "and kindness." Lamprias too he mentions as inheriting the lively disposition and good-humour of his grandfather, who bore the same name.

Some writers have asserted, that Plutarch passed into Egypt. Others allege, that there is no authority for that assertion: and it is true, that we have no written record concerning it. Nevertheless, we incline to believe, that he did travel into that country; and we found our opinion on the following reasons. In the first place, this tour was a part of liberal education among the Greeks; and Plutarch, being descended from a family of distinction, was therefore likely to enjoy such a privilege. In the next place, his treatise of Isis and Osiris, shews that he had a more than common knowledge of the religious mysteries of the Egyptians; and it is therefore highly probable, that he obtained this knowledge by being conversant amongst them. To have written a treatise on so abstruse a subject, without some more eminent advantages than other writers might afford him, could not have been agreeable to the genius, or consistent with the modesty of Plutarch.

However, supposing it doubtful whether he passed into Egypt, there is no doubt at all that he travelled into Italy. Upon what occasion he visited that country, it is not quite so certain; but he probably went to Rome, in a public capacity, on the business of the Chæroneans. For, in the life of Demosthenes, he tells us, that he had no leisure in his journey to Italy, to learn the Latin language, on the account of public business.

As the passage here referred to affords us further matter of speculation for the life of Plutarch, we shall give it as we find it. "An author who would write a history of "events which happened in a foreign country, and can- "not be come at in his own, as he has his materials to "collect from a variety of books, dispersed in different "libraries, his first care should be to take up his resi- "dence in some populous town which has an ambition "for literature. There he will meet with many curious "and valuable books; and the particulars that are want- "ing in writers he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with,

"by thoſe who have laid them up in the faithful repoſi-"
"tory of memory. This will prevent his work from be-"
"ing defective in any material point. As to myſelf, I"
"live in a little town; and I chooſe to live there, leſt it"
"ſhould become ſtill leſs. When I was in Rome, and"
"other parts of Italy, I had not leiſure to ſtudy the Latin"
"tongue, on account of the public commiſſions with"
"which I was charged, and the number of people who"
"came to be inſtructed by me in philoſophy. It was"
"not, therefore, till a late period in life that I began to"
"read the Roman authors."

From this ſhort account we may collect, with tolerable certainty, the following circumſtances:

In the firſt place, Plutarch tells us, that while he was reſident in Rome, public buſineſs and lectures in philoſophy left him no time for learning the Latin language; and yet, a little before, he had obſerved, that thoſe who write a hiſtory of foreign characters and events, ought to be converſant with the hiſtorians of that country where the character exiſted, and the ſcene is laid: but he acknowledges, that he did not learn the Latin language till he was late in life, becauſe, when at Rome, he had not time for that purpoſe.

We may, therefore, conclude, that he wrote his Morals at Rome, and his Lives at Chæronea. For the compoſition of the former, the knowledge of the Roman language was not neceſſary: the Greek tongue was then generally underſtood in Rome; and he had no neceſſity for making uſe of any other, when he delivered his lectures of philoſophy to the people. Thoſe lectures, it is more than probable, made up that collection of Morals which is come down to us.

Though he could not avail himſelf of the Roman hiſtorians, in the great purpoſe of writing his Lives, for want of a competent acquaintance with the language in which they wrote; yet, by converſing with the principal citizens in the Greek tongue, he muſt have collected many eſſential circumſtances, and anecdotes of characters and events, that promoted his deſign, and enriched the plan of his work. The treaſures he acquired of this kind he ſecured by means of a common-place book, which he conſtantly carried about with him: and as it appears that he was at Rome, and in other parts of Italy, from the beginning of Veſpaſian's reign to the end of Trajan's, he muſt

must have had sufficient time and opportunity to procure materials of every kind; for this was a period of almost forty years.

We shall the more readily enter into the belief that Plutarch collected his materials chiefly from conversation, when we consider in what manner, and on what subjects, the ancients used to converse. The discourse of people of education and distinction in those days was somewhat different from that of ours. It was not on the powers or pedigree of a horse: it was not on a match of travelling between geese and turkies: it was not on a race of maggots, started against each other on the table, when they first came to day-light from the shell of a filbert: it was not by what part you may suspend a spaniel the longest without making him whine: it was not on the exquisite finesse, and the highest manœuvres of play. The old Romans had no ambition for attainments of this nature. They had no such masters in science as Heber and Hoyle. The taste of their day did not run so high. The powers of poetry and philosophy, the œconomy of human life and manners, the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, the enlargement of the mind, historical and political discussions on the events of their country;—these, and such subjects as these, made the principal part of their conversation. Of this Plutarch has given us at once a proof and a specimen, in what he calls his Symposiacs, or, as our Selden calls it, his Table-Talk. From such conversations as these, then, we cannot wonder that he was able to collect such treasures as were necessary for the maintenance of his biographical undertaking.

In the sequel of the last quoted passage, we find another argument which confirms us in the opinion that Plutarch's knowledge of the Roman history was chiefly of colloquial acquisition. "My method of learning the Roman language, says he, may seem strange; and yet it is very "true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things "by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of "things." This plainly implies, that he was previously acquainted with the events described in the language he was learning.

It must be owned that the Roman History had been already written in Greek by Polybius; and that, indeed, somewhat invalidates the last-mentioned argument. Nevertheless, it has still sufficient evidence for its support.

There are a thousand circumstances in Plutarch's Lives, which could not be collected from Polybius; and it is clear to us, that he did not make much use of his Latin reading.

He acknowledges that he did not apply himself to the acquisition of that language till he was far advanced in life: possibly it might be about the latter part of the reign of Trajan, whose kind disposition towards his country, rendered the weight of public and political business easy to him.

But whenever he might begin to learn the language of Rome, it is certain that he made no great progress in it. This appears as well from the little comments he has occasionally given us on certain Latin words, as from some passages in his Lives, where he has professedly followed the Latin historians, and yet followed them in an uncertain and erroneous manner.

That he wrote the Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero at Chæronea, it is clear from his own account; and it is more than probable too, that the rest of his Lives were written in that retirement; for if, while he was at Rome, he could scarcely find time to learn the language, it is hardly to be supposed that he could do more than lay up materials for composition.

A circumstance arises here, which confirms to us an opinion we have long entertained, that the Book of Apophthegms, which is said to have been written by Plutarch, is really not his work. This book is dedicated to Trajan; and the dedicator, assuming the name and character of Plutarch, says, he had, before this, written the Lives of illustrious men: but Plutarch wrote those Lives at Chæronea; and he did not retire to Chæronea till after the death of Trajan.

There are other proofs, if others were necessary, to shew that this work was supposititious. For, in this dedication to Trajan, not the least mention is made of Plutarch's having been his preceptor, of his being raised by him to the consular dignity, or of his being appointed governor of Illyria. Dacier, observing this, has drawn a wrong conclusion from it, and, contrary to the assertion of Suidas, will have it, that Plutarch was neither preceptor to Trajan, nor honoured with any appointments under him. Had it occurred to him that the Book of Apophthegms could not be Plutarch's book, but that it was merely

merely an extract made from his real works, by some industrious grammarian, he would not have been under the necessity of hazarding so much against the received opinion of his connections with Trajan; nor would he have found it necessary to allow so little credit to his letter addressed to that emperor, which we have upon record. The letter is as follows:

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN.

"I AM sensible that you sought not the empire. "Your natural modesty would not suffer you to apply "for a distinction to which you were always entitled by "the excellency of your manners. That modesty, how-"ever, makes you still more worthy of those honours "you had no ambition to solicit. Should your future "government prove in any degree answerable to your "former merit, I shall have reason to congratulate both "your virtue and my own good fortune on this great "event. But if otherwise, you have exposed yourself to "danger, and me to obloquy; for Rome will never en-"dure an emperor unworthy of her; and the faults of "the scholar will be imputed to the master. Seneca is "reproached, and his fame still suffers for the vices of "Nero: the reputation of Quintilian is hurt by the ill "conduct of his scholars; and even Socrates is accused "of negligence in the education of Alcibiades. Of you, "however, I have better hopes, and flatter myself that "your administration will do honour to your virtues. "Only continue to be what you are. Let your govern-"ment commence in your breast; and lay the founda-"tion of it in the command of your passions. If you "make virtue the rule of your conduct, and the end of "your actions, every thing will proceed in harmony and "order. I have explained to you the spirit of those laws "and constitutions that were established by your pre-"decessors; and you have nothing to do but to carry "them into execution. If this should be the case, I "shall have the glory of having formed an emperor to "virtue; but if otherwise, let this letter remain a testi-"mony with succeeding ages, that you did not ruin the "Roman empire under pretence of the counsels or the "authority of Plutarch."

Why Dacier should think that this letter is neither worthy of the pen, nor written in the manner of Plutarch, it

it is not eafy to conceive; for it has all the fpirit, the manly freedom, and the fentimental turn of that philofopher.

We fhall find it no very difficult matter to account for his connections with Trajan, if we attend to the manner in which he lived, and to the reception he met with in Rome. During his refidence in that city, his houfe was the refort of the principal citizens. All that were diftinguifhed by their rank, tafte, learning, or politenefs, fought his converfation, and attended his lectures. The ftudy of the Greek language and philofophy was, at that time, the greateft purfuits of the Roman nobility, and even the emperors honoured the moft celebrated profeffors with their prefence and fupport. Plutarch, in his Treatife on Curiofity, has introduced a circumftance, which places the attention that was paid to his lectures in a very ftrong light. "It once happened," fays he, "that when I was "fpeaking in public at Rome, Arulenus Rufticus, the "fame whom Domitian, through envy of his growing "reputation, afterwards put to death, was one of my "hearers. When I was in the middle of my difcourfe, "a foldier came in, and brought him a letter from the "emperor. Upon this, there was a general filence "through the audience, and I ftopped to give him time "to perufe this letter; but he would not fuffer it; nor "did he open the letter till I had finifhed my lecture, "and the audience was difperfed."

To underftand the importance of this compliment, it will be neceffary to confider the quality and character of the perfon who paid it. Arulenus was one of the greateft men in Rome; diftinguifhed as well by the luftre of his family, as by an honourable ambition and thirft of glory. He was tribune of the people when Nero caufed Pætus and Soranus to be capitally condemned by a decree of the fenate. When Soranus was deliberating with his friends, whether he fhould attempt or give up his defence, Arulenus had the fpirit to propofe an oppofition to the decree of the fenate, in his capacity of tribune; and he would have carried it into execution, had he not been over-ruled by Pætus, who remonftrated, that by fuch a meafure he would deftroy himfelf, without the fatisfaction of ferving his friend. He was afterwards prætor under Vitellius, whofe interefts he followed with the greateft fidelity. But his fpirit and magnanimity do him the

greateft

greateſt honour, in that eulogy which he wrote on Pætus and Helvidius Priſcus. His whole conduct was regulated by the precepts of philoſophy; and the reſpect he ſhewed to Plutarch on this occaſion was a proof of his attachment to it. Such was the man who poſtponed the letter of a prince to the lecture of a philoſopher.

But Plutarch was not only treated with general marks of diſtinction by the ſuperior people in Rome; he had particular and very reſpectable friendſhips. Soſſius Senecio, who was four times conſul, once under Nerva, and thrice under Trajan, was his moſt intimate friend. To him he addreſſes his Lives, except that of Aratus, which is inſcribed to Polycrates of Sycion, the grandſon of Aratus. With Senecio he not only lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip whilſt he was in Rome, but correſponded with him after he retired to Greece. And is it not eaſy to believe, that through the intereſt of this zealous and powerful friend, Plutarch might not only be appointed tutor to Trajan, but be advanced likewiſe to the conſular dignity? When we conſider Plutarch's eminence in Rome as a teacher of philoſophy, nothing can be more probable than the former: when we remember the conſular intereſt of Senecio under Trajan, and his diſtinguiſhed regard for Plutarch, nothing can be more likely than the latter.

The honour of being preceptor to ſuch a virtuous prince as Trajan, is ſo important a point in the life of Plutarch, that it muſt not haſtily be given up. Suidas has aſſerted it. The letter above quoted, if it be, as we have no doubt of its being, the genuine compoſition of Plutarch, has confirmed it. Petrarch has maintained it. Dacier only has doubted, or rather denied it. But upon what evidence has he grounded his opinion? Plutarch, he ſays, was but three or four years older than Trajan, and therefore was unfit to be his preceptor in philoſophy. Now let us inquire into the force of this argument. Trajan ſpent the early part of his life in arms: Plutarch in the ſtudy of the ſciences. When that prince applied himſelf to literary purſuits, he was ſomewhat advanced in life: Plutarch muſt have been more ſo. And why a man of ſcience ſhould be an unfit preceptor in philoſophy to a military man, though no more than four years older, the reaſon, we apprehend, will be ſomewhat difficult to diſcover.

Dacier, moreover, is reduced to a *petitio principii*, when he ſays that Plutarch was only four years older than Trajan: for we have ſeen that it is impoſſible to aſcertain the time of Plutarch's birth; and the date which Dacier aſſigns it is purely conjectural: We will therefore conclude, with thoſe learned men who have formerly allowed Plutarch the honour of being preceptor to Trajan, that he certainly was ſo. There is little doubt that they grounded their aſſertions upon proper authority, and, indeed, the internal evidence ariſing from the nature and effects of that education, which did equal honour to the ſcholar and to the maſter, comes in aid of the argument.

Some chronologers have taken upon them to aſcertain the time when Plutarch's reputation was eſtabliſhed in Rome. Peter of Alexandria fixes it in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, in the conſulate of Capito and Rufus: "Lucian," ſays he, "was, at this time, in great "reputation amongſt the Romans; and Muſonius and "Plutarch were well known." Euſebius brings it one year lower, and tells us, that, in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign, Muſonius and Plutarch were in great reputation. Both theſe writers are palpably miſtaken. We have ſeen, that, in the twelfth year of Nero, Plutarch was yet at ſchool under Ammonius; and it is not very probable that a ſchool-boy ſhould be celebrated as a philoſopher in Rome, within a year or two after. Indeed, Euſebius contradicts himſelf; for, on another occaſion, he places him in the reign of Adrian, the third year of the olympiad 224, of the Chriſtian æra 120: "In this "year, ſays he, the philoſophers Plutarch of Chæronea, "Sextus, and Agathobulus, flouriſhed." Thus he carries him as much too low, as he had before placed him too high. It is certain, that he firſt grew into reputation under the reign of Veſpaſian, and that his philoſophical fame was eſtabliſhed in the time of Trajan.

It ſeems that the Greek and Latin writers of thoſe times were either little acquainted with each other's works, or that there were ſome literary jealouſies and animoſities between them. When Plutarch flouriſhed, there were ſeveral cotemporary writers of diſtinguiſhed abilities; Perſeus, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, the younger Pliny, Solinus, Martial, Quintilian, and many more. Yet none of thoſe have made the leaſt mention of him. Was this envy? or was it Roman pride?

Poſſibly,

Poſſibly, they could not bear that a Greek ſophiſt, a native of ſuch a contemptible town as Chæronea, ſhould enjoy the palm of literary praiſe in Rome. It muſt be obſerved, at the ſame time, that the principal Roman writers had conceived a jealouſy of the Greek philoſophers, which was very prevailing in that age. Of this we find a ſtrong teſtimony in the elder Pliny, where, ſpeaking of Cato the Cenſor's diſapproving and diſmiſſing the Grecian orators, and of the younger Cato's bringing in triumph a ſophiſt from Greece, he exclaims in terms that ſignified contempt, *quanta morum commutatio!*

However, to be undiſtinguiſhed by the encomiums of cotemporary writers, was by no means a thing peculiar to Plutarch. It has been, and ſtill is, the fate of ſuperior genius, to be beheld either with the ſilent or abuſive envy. It makes its way like the ſun, which we look upon with pain, unleſs ſomething paſſes over him that obſcures his glory. We then view with eagerneſs the ſhadow, the cloud, or the ſpot, and are pleaſed with what eclipſes the brightneſs we otherwiſe cannot bear.

Yet, if Plutarch, like other great men, found " Envy " never conquered but by death," his manes have been appeaſed by the ampleſt atonements. Amongſt the many that have done honour to his memory, the following eulogiums deſerve to be recorded.

Aulus Gellius compliments him with the higheſt diſtinction in ſcience *.

Taurus, quoted by Gellius, calls him a man of the moſt conſummate learning and wiſdom †.

Eusebius places him at the head of the Greek philoſophers ‡.

Sardianus, in his Preface to the Lives of the Philophers, calls him the moſt divine Plutarch, the beauty and harmony of philoſophy.

Petrarch, in his moral writings, frequently diſtinguiſhes him by the title of the great Plutarch.

Honour has been done to him likewiſe by Origen, Himerius the Sophiſt, Cyrillus, Theodoret, Suidas, Photius, Xiphilinus, Joannes, Saliſberienſis, Victorius, Lipſius,

* A. Gellius, lib. iv. cap. 7. † Gell. lib. i. cap. 26. ‡ Euſeb. Præp. lib. iii. init.

ſius, and Agathias, in the epigram which is thus tranſlated by Dryden:

Chæronean Plutarch, to thy deathleſs praiſe
Does martial Rome this grateful ſtatue raiſe;
Becauſe both Greece and ſhe thy fame have ſhar'd;
Their heroes written, and their lives compar'd.
But thou thyſelf could'ſt never write thy own:
Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.

But this is perfectly extravagant. We are much better pleaſed with the Greek verſes of the honeſt metropolitan under Conſtantine Monomachus. They deſerve to be tranſlated.

Lord of that light, that living power, to ſave
Which her loſt ſons no Heathen SCIENCE gave;
If aught of theſe thy mercy means to ſpare,
Yield PLATO, Lord,—yield PLUTARCH to my prayer.
Led by no grace, no new conveſion wrought,
They felt thy own divinity of thought.
That grace exerted, ſpare the partial rod:
The laſt, beſt witneſs, that thou art their God!

Theodore Gaza, who was a man of conſiderable learning, and a great reviver of letters, had a particular attachment to our biographer. When he was aſked, in caſe of a general deſtruction of books, what author he would wiſh to ſave from the ruin, he anſwered Plutarch. He conſidered his hiſtorical and philoſophical writings as the moſt beneficial to ſociety, and, of courſe, the beſt ſubſtitute for all other books.

Were it neceſſary to produce further ſuffrages for the merit of Plutarch, it would be ſufficient to ſay, that he has been praiſed by Montaign, St. Evremond and Monteſquieu, the beſt critics and the ableſt writers of their time.

After receiving the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours that a philoſopher could enjoy; after the god-like office of teaching wiſdom and goodneſs to the metropolis of the world; after having formed an emperor to virtue; and after beholding the effects of his precepts in the happineſs of human kind; Plutarch retired to his native country. The death of his illuſtrious prince and pupil, to a man of his ſenſibility, muſt have rendered Rome even painful:

painful: for whatever influence philoſophy may have on the cultivation of the mind, we find that it has very little power over the intereſts of the heart.

It muſt have been in the decline of life that Plutarch retired to Chæronea. But though he withdrew from the buſier ſcenes of the world, he fled not to an unprofitable or inactive ſolitude. In that retirement he formed the great work for which he had ſo long been preparing materials, his Lives of Illuſtrious Men; a work which, as Scaliger ſays, *non ſolum fuit in manibus hominum, at etiam humani generis memoriam occupavit.*

To recommend by encomiums what has been received with univerſal approbation, would be ſuperfluous. But to obſerve where the biographer has excelled, and in what he has failed; to make a due eſtimate as well of the defects as of the merits of his work; may have its uſe.

Lipſius has obſerved, that he does not write hiſtory, but ſcraps of hiſtory; *non hiſtoriam, ſed particulas hiſtoriæ.* This is ſaid of his Lives, and, in one ſenſe, it is true. No ſingle life that he has written will afford a ſufficient hiſtory of its proper period; neither was it poſſible that it ſhould do ſo. As his plan comprized a number of contemporary lives, moſt of which were in public characters, the buſineſs of their period was to be divided amongſt them. The general hiſtory of the time was to be thrown into ſeperate portions; and thoſe portions were to be allotted to ſuch characters as had the principal intereſt in the ſeveral events.

This was, in ſome meaſure, done by Plutarch; but it was not done with great art or accuracy. At the ſame time, as we have already obſerved, it is not to be wondered, if there were ſome repetitions, when the part which the ſeveral characters bore in the principal events, was neceſſary to be pointed out.

Yet theſe ſcraps of hiſtory, thus divided and diſperſed, when ſeen in a collective form, make no very imperfect narrative of the times within their view. Their biographer's attention to the minuter circumſtances of character, his diſquiſitions of principles and manners, and his political and philoſophical diſcuſſions, lead us in an eaſy and intelligent manner, to the events he deſcribes.

It is not to be denied, that his narratives are ſometimes diſorderly, and too often encumbered with impertinent

tinent digreſſions. By purſuing with too much indulgence the train of ideas, he has frequently deſtroyed the order of facts, brought together events that lay at a diſtance from each other, called forward thoſe circumſtances to which he ſhould have made a regular progreſs, and made no other apology for theſe idle excurſions, but by telling us that he is out of the order of time.

Notes, in the time of Plutarch, were not in uſe. Had he knowu the convenience of marginal writing, he would certainly have thrown the greateſt part of his digreſſions into that form. They are, undoubtedly, tedious and diſguſtful; and all we can do to reconcile ourſelves to them, is to remember, that, in the firſt place, marginal writing was a thing unknown; and that the benevolent deſire of conveying inſtruction, was the greateſt motive with the biographer for introducing them. This appears, at leaſt, from the nature of them; for they are chiefly diſquiſitions in natural hiſtory and philoſophy.

In painting the manners of men, Plutarch is truly excellent. Nothing can be more clear than his moral diſtinctions; nothing finer than his delineations of the mind.

The ſpirit of philoſophical obſervation and inquiry, which, when properly directed, is the great ornament and excellence of hiſtorical compoſition, Plutarch poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. His biographical writings teach philoſophy at once by precept and by example. His morals and his characters mutually explain and give force to each other.

His ſentiments of the duty of a biographer were peculiarly juſt and delicate. This will appear from his ſtrictures on thoſe hiſtorians who wrote of Philiſtus. "It is "plain, ſays he, that Timæus takes every occaſion, from "Philiſtus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to "load him with the heavieſt reproaches. Thoſe whom "he injured are in ſome degree excuſable, if, in their "reſentment, they treated him with indignities after "death. But wherefore ſhould his biographers, whom "he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his "works; wherefore ſhould they exhibit him with all "the exaggerations of ſcurrility, in thoſe ſcenes of diſ-"treſs to which Fortune ſometimes reduces the beſt of "men? On the other hand, Ephorus is no leſs extra-"vagant in his encomiums on Philiſtus. He knows

"well

"well how to throw into ſhades the foibles of the human "character, and to give an air of plauſibility to the moſt "indefenſible conduct: but with all his elegance, with "all his art, he cannot reſcue Philiſtus from the impu- "tation of being the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporter of arbi- "trary power, of being the fondeſt follower and ad- "mirer of the luxury, the magnificence, the alliance of "tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the "principles of Philiſtus, nor inſults over his misfortunes, "will beſt diſcharge the duty of the hiſtorian.

There is ſuch a thing as conſtitutional religion. There is a certain temper and frame of mind naturally productive of devotion. There are men who are born with the original principles of piety; and in this claſs we need not heſitate to place Plutarch.

If this diſpoſition has ſometimes made him too indulgent to ſuperſtition, and too attentive to the leſs rational circumſtances of the heathen theology, it is not to be wondered. But, upon the whole, he had conſiſtent and honourable notions of the Supreme Being.

That he believed the unity of the Divine Nature, we have already ſeen in his obſervations on the word ει, engraved on Apollo's temple. The ſame opinion too is found in his Treatiſe on the Ceſſation of Oracles; where, in the character of a Platoniſt, he argues againſt the Stoics, who denied the plurality of worlds. "If there are many "worlds, ſaid the Stoics, why then is there only one "Fate, and one Providence to guide them? for the "Platoniſts allow that there is but one,—Why ſhould "not many Jupiters, or gods, be neceſſary for the go- "vernment of many worlds?" To this Plutarch anſwers, "Where is the neceſſity of ſuppoſing many Ju- "piters for this plurality of worlds? Is not one Excellent "Being, endued with reaſon and intelligence, ſuch as "He is whom we acknowledge to be the Father and "Lord of all things, ſufficient to direct and rule theſe "worlds? If there were more ſupreme agents, their de- "crees would be vain, and contradictory to each other?

But though Plutarch acknowledged the individuality of the Supreme being, he believed, nevertheleſs, in the exiſtence of intermediate beings of an inferior order, between the divine and the human nature. Theſe beings he calls genii, or dæmons. It is impoſſible, he thinks, from

from the general order and principles of creation, that there ſhould be no mean betwixt the two extremes of a mortal and immortal being; that there cannot be in nature ſo great a vacuum, without ſome intermediate ſpecies of life, which might in ſome meaſure partake of both. And as we find the connection between ſoul and body to be made by means of the animal ſpirits, ſo theſe dæmons are intelligences between divinity and humanity. Their nature, however, is believed to be progreſſive. At firſt they are ſuppoſed to have been virtuous men, whoſe ſouls being refined from the groſs parts of their former exiſtence, are admitted into the higher order of genii, and are from thence either raiſed to a more exalted mode of ætherial being, or degraded to mortal forms, according to their merit or their degeneracy. One order of theſe genii, he ſuppoſes, preſided over oracles; others adminiſtered, under the Supreme Being, the affairs and the fortunes of men, ſupporting the virtuous, puniſhing the bad, and ſometimes even communicating with the beſt and pureſt natures. Thus the genius of Socrates ſtill warned him of approaching danger, and taught him to avoid it.

It is this order of beings which the late Mr. Thomſon, who in enthuſiaſm was a Platoniſt, and in benevolence a Pythagorean, has ſo beautifully deſcribed, in his Seaſons: and, as if the good bard had believed the doctrine, he pathetically invokes a favourite ſpirit which had lately forſaken its former manſion:

> And art thou, Stanley, of that ſacred band?
> Alas! for us too ſoon!———

Such were Plutarch's religious principles; and as a proof that he thought them of conſequence, he entered, after his retirement, into a ſacred character, and was conſecrated prieſt of Apollo.

This was not his ſole appointment, when he returned to Chæronea. He united the ſacerdotal with the magiſtratial character, and devoted himſelf at once to the ſervice of the gods, and to the duties of ſociety. He did not think that philoſophy, or the purſuit of letters, ought to exempt any man from perſonal ſervice in the community to which he belonged; and though his literary labours were of the greateſt importance to the world, he

ſought

ſought no excuſe in thoſe from diſcharging offices of public truſt in his little city of Chæronea.

It appears that he paſſed through ſeveral of theſe offices, and that he was, at laſt, appointed archon, or chief magiſtrate of the city. Whether he retained his ſuperintendency of Illyria after the death of Trajan, we do not certainly know: but, in this humble ſphere, it will be worth our while to inquire in what manner a philoſopher would adminiſter juſtice.

With regard to the inferior offices that he bore, he looked upon them in the ſame light as the great Epaminondas had done, who, when he was appointed to a commiſſion beneath his rank, obſerved, "that no office "could give dignity to him that held it; but that he who "held it might give dignity to any office." It is not unentertaining to hear our philoſopher apolopize for his employment when he diſcharges the office of commiſſioner of ſewers and public buildings. "I make no "doubt, ſays he, that the citizens of Chæronea often "ſmile, when they ſee me employed in ſuch offices as "theſe. On ſuch occaſions, I generally call to mind "what is ſaid of Antiſthenes. When he was bringing "home, in his own hands, a dirty fiſh from the market, "ſome, who obſerved it, expreſſed their ſurprize; "It is for myſelf, ſaid Antiſthenes, that I carry this fiſh. "On the contrary, for my own part, when I am rallied "for meaſuring tiles, or for calculating a quantity of "ſtones or mortar, I anſwer, that it is *not* for myſelf "I do theſe things, but for my country. For, in all "things of this nature, the public utility takes off the "diſgrace; and the meaner the office you ſuſtain may "be, the greater is the compliment that you pay to the "public."

Plutarch, in the capacity of a public magiſtrate, was indefatigable in recommending unanimity to the citizens. To carry this point more effectually, he lays it down as a firſt principle, that a magiſtrate ſhould be affable and eaſy of acceſs; that his houſe ſhould always be open as a place of refuge for thoſe who ſought for juſtice; and that he ſhould not ſatisfy himſelf merely with allotting certain hours of the day to ſit for the deſpatch of buſineſs, but that he ſhould employ a part of his time in private negociations, in making up domeſtic quarrels, and reconciling

ciling divided friends. This employment he regarded as one of the principal parts of his office; and, indeed, he might properly consider it in a political light; for it too frequently happens, that the most dangerous public factions are at first kindled by private misunderstandings. Thus, in one part of his works, he falls into the same sentiment: "As public conflagrations, says he, do not "always begin in public edifices, but are caused more "frequently by some lamp neglected in a private house; "so in the administration of states, it does not always "happen that the flame of sedition arises from political "differences, but from private dissensions, which run-"ning through a long chain of connections, at length "affect the whole body of the people. For this reason, "it is one of the principal duties of a minister of state "or magistrate, to heal these private animosities, and to "prevent them from growing into public divisions."—After these observations, he mentions several states and cities which had owed their ruin to the same little causes; and then adds, that we ought not by any means to be inattentive to the misunderstandings of private men, but apply to them the most timely remedies; for, by proper care, as Cato observes, what is great becomes little, and what is little is reduced to nothing. Of the truth of these observations, the annals of our own country, we wish we had no reason to say our own times, have presented us with many melancholy instances.

As Plutarch observed that it was a fashionable fault amongst men of fortune to refuse a proper respect to magistrates of inferior rank, he endeavoured to remove this impolitic evil as well by precept as by example. "To "learn obedience and deference to the magistrate, says "he, is one of the first and best principles of discipline; "nor ought these by any means to be dispensed with, "though that magistrate should be inferior to us in "figure or in fortune. For how absurd is it, if, in "theatrical exhibitions, the meanest actor, that wears a "momentary diadem, shall receive his due respect from "superior players; and yet, in civil life, men of greater "power or wealth shall withhold the deference that is "due to the magistrate! In this case, however, they "should remember, that while they consult their own "importance, they detract from the honour of the state.

"Private

"Private dignity ought always to give place to public "authority; as, in Sparta, it was uſual for the kings to "riſe in compliment to the ephori.

With regard to Plutarch's political principles, it is clear that he was, even whilſt at Rome, a republican in heart, and a friend to liberty: But this does him no peculiar honour. Such privileges are the birth-right of mankind; and they are never parted with but through fear or favour. At Rome, he acted like a philoſopher of the world. *Quando noi ſiamo in Roma, noi faciamo come Eglino fanno in Roma.* He found a conſtitution which he had not power to alter; yet, though he could not make mankind free, he made them comparatively happy, by teaching clemency to their temporary ruler.

At Chæronea we find him more openly avowing the principles of liberty. During his reſidence at Rome, he had remarked an eſſential error in the police. In all complaints and proceſſes, however trifling, the people had recourſe to the firſt officers of ſtate. By this means they ſuppoſed that their intereſt would be promoted; but it had a certain tendency to enſlave them ſtill more, and to render them the tools and dependents of court power. Of theſe meaſures the archon of Chæronea thus expreſſes his diſapprobation: "At the ſame time, ſays he, that we "endeavour to render a city obedient to its magiſtrates, "we muſt beware of reducing it to a ſervile or too hu-"miliating a condition. Thoſe who carry every trifle "to the cognizance of the ſupreme magiſtrate, are con-"tributing all they can to the ſervitude of their country." And it is undoubtedly true, that the habitual and univerſal exertion of authority has a natural tendency to arbitrary dominion.

We have now conſidered Plutarch in the light of a philoſopher, a biographer, and a magiſtrate; we have entered into his moral, religious, and political character, as well as the informations we could obtain would enable us. It only remains that we view him in the domeſtic ſphere of life—that little, but trying ſphere, where we act wholly from ourſelves, and aſſume no character but that which nature and education has given us.

Dacier, on falling into this part of Plutarch's hiſtory, has made a whimſical obſervation. "There are two "cardinal points, ſays he, in a man's life, which deter-

"mine his happineſs or his miſery. Theſe are his "birth and his marriage. It is in vain for a man to be "born fortunate, if he be unfortunate in his marriage." How Dacier could reconcile the aſtrologers to this new doctrine, it is not eaſy to ſay: for, upon this principle, a man muſt at leaſt have two good ſtars, one for his birth-day, the other for his wedding-day; as it ſeems that the influence of the natal ſtar could not extend beyond the bridal morn, but that a man then falls under a different dominion.

At what time Plutarch entered into this ſtate, we are not quite certain; but as it is not probable that a man of his wiſdom would marry at an advanced time of life, and as his wife was a native of Chæronea, we may conclude that he married before he went to Rome. However that might be, it appears that he was fortunate in his choice; for his wife was not only well-born and well-bred, but a woman of diſtinguiſhed ſenſe and virtue. Her name was Timoxena.

Plutarch appears to have had at leaſt five children by her, four ſons, and a daughter, whom, out of regard for her mother, he called Timoxena. He has given us a proof that he had all the tenderneſs of an affectionate father for theſe children, by recording a little inſtance of his daughter's natural benevolence. "When ſhe "was very young," ſays he, "ſhe would frequently beg of "her nurſe to give the breaſt not only to the other chil-"dren, but to her babies and dolls, which ſhe conſidered "as her dependents, and under her protection." Who does not ſee, in this ſimple circumſtance, at once the fondneſs of the parent, and the benevolent diſpoſition of the man?

But the philoſopher ſoon loſt his little bloſſom of humanity. His Timoxena died in her infancy; and if we may judge from the conſolatory letter he wrote to her mother on the occaſion, he bore the loſs as became a philoſopher. "Conſider, ſaid he, that death has de-"prived your Timoxena only of ſmall enjoyments. The "things ſhe knew were but of little conſequence, and "ſhe could be delighted only with trifles." In this letter we find a portrait of his wife, which does her the greateſt honour. From the teſtimony given by her huſband, it appears that ſhe was far above the general weak-

neſs

neſs and affectation of her ſex. She had no paſſion for the expenſiveneſs of dreſs, or the parade of public appearances. She thought every kind of extravagance blameable; and her ambition went not beyond the decencies and proprieties of life.

Plutarch had before this buried two of his ſons, his eldeſt ſon, and a younger named Charon; and it appears from the above-mentioned letter, that the conduct of Timoxena, on theſe events, was worthy the wife of a philoſopher. She did not disfigure herſelf by change of apparel, or give way to the extravagance of grief, as women in general do on ſuch occaſions, but ſupported the diſpenſations of Providence with a ſolemn and rational ſubmiſſion, even when they ſeemed to be moſt ſevere. She had taken unwearied pains, and undergone the greateſt ſufferings, to nurſe her ſon Charon at her own breaſt, at a time when an abſceſs formed near the part had obliged her to undergo an inciſion. Yet, when the child, reared with ſo much tender pain and difficulty, died, thoſe who went to viſit her on the melancholy occaſion, found her houſe in no more diſorder than if nothing diſtreſsful had happened. She received her friends as Admetus entertained Hercules, who, the ſame day that he buried Alceſte, betrayed not the leaſt confuſion before his heroic gueſt.

With a woman of ſo much dignity of mind and excellence of diſpoſition, a man of Plutarch's wiſdom and humanity muſt have been infinitely happy: and, indeed, it appears from thoſe precepts of conjugal happineſs and affection which he has left us, that he has drawn his obſervations from experience, and that the rules he recommended had been previouſly exemplified in his own family.

It is ſaid that Plutarch had ſome miſunderſtanding with his wife's relations; upon which Timoxena, fearing that it might affect their union, had duty and religion enough to go as far as Mount Helicon and ſacrifice to Love, who had a celebrated temple there.

He left two ſons, Plutarch and Lamprius. The latter appears to have been a philoſopher, and it is to him we are indebted for a catalogue of his father's writings; which, however, one cannot look upon, as Mr. Dryden ſays, without the ſame emotions that a merchant muſt

feel

feel in perusing a bill of freight after he has lost his vessel. The writings no longer extant are these:

The Lives of
- Hercules,
- Hesiod,
- Pindar,
- Crates and Daiphantus, with a Parallel,
- Leonidas,
- Aristomenes,
- Scipio Africanus Junior, and Metellus,
- Augustus,
- Tiberius,
- Claudius,
- Nero,
- Caligula,
- Vitellius,
- Epaminondas and the Elder Scipio, with a Parallel.

Four Books of Commentaries on Homer.
Four Books of Commentaries on Hesiod.
Five Books to Empedocles, on the Quintessence.
Five Books of Essays.
Three Books of Fables.
Three Books of Rhetoric.
Three Books on the Introduction of the Soul.
Two Books of Extracts from the Philosophers.
Three Books on Sense.
Three Books on the great Actions of Cities.
Two Books on Politics.
An Essay on Opportunity, to Theophrastus.
Four Books on the Obsolete Parts of History.
Two Books of Proverbs.
Eight Books on the Topics of Aristotle.
Three Books on Justice, to Chrysippus.
An Essay on Poetry.
A Dissertation on the Difference between the Pyrrhonians and the Academicians.
A Treatise to prove that there was but one Academy of Plato.

Aulus Gellius has taken a long story from Taurus, about Plutarch's method of correcting a slave, in which there is nothing more than this, that he punished him like

like a philoſopher, and gave him his diſcipline without being out of temper.

Plutarch had a nephew named Sextus, who bore a conſiderable reputation in the world of letters, and taught the Greek language and learning to Marcus Antoninus. The character which that philoſopher has given him, in his Firſt Book of Reflections, may, with great propriety, be applied to his uncle. "Sextus, by his example, "taught me mildneſs and humanity; to govern my houſe "like a good father of a family; to fall into an eaſy "and unaffected gravity of manners; to live agreeably "to nature; to find out the art of diſcovering and pre-"venting the wants of my friends; to connive at the "noiſy follies of the ignorant and impertinent; and to "comply with the underſtandings and the humours of "men."

One of the rewards of philoſophy is long life; and it is clear that Plutarch enjoyed this; but of the time, or the circumſtances of his death, we have no ſatisfactory account.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

PLUTARCH's LIVES.

THESEUS.

As geographers thruſt into the extremities of their maps thoſe countries that are unknown to them, remarking at the ſame time, that all beyond is hills of ſand and haunts of wild beaſts, frozen ſeas, marſhes, and mountains that are inacceſſible to human courage or induſtry; ſo, in comparing the lives of illuſtrious men, when I have paſt through thoſe periods of time which may be deſcribed with probability, and where hiſtory may find firm footing in facts, I may ſay, my Senecio *, of the remoter ages, that all beyond is full of prodigy and fiction, the regions of poets and fabuliſts, wrapt in clouds, and unworthy of belief †. Yet ſince I had given an account of Lycurgus and Numa, I thought I might without impropriety aſcend to Romulus, as I had approached his times. But conſidering

> Who, for the palm, in conteſt high ſhall join?
> Or who in equal ranks ſhall ſtand?

(as Æſchylus expreſſes it) it appeared to me, that he who peopled the beautiful and famed city of Athens, might be beſt contraſted and compared with the father of the magnificent and invincible Rome. Permit us then to take

* Soſſius Senecio, a man of conſular dignity, who flouriſhed under Nerva and Trajan, and to whom Pliny addreſſed ſome of his Epiſtles; not the Senecio put to death by Domitian.

† The wild fictions of the fabulous ages may partly be accounted for from the genius of the writers, who (as Plutarch obſerves) were chiefly poets; and partly from an affectation of ſomething extraordinary or præternatural in antiquity, which has generally prevailed, both in nations and families.

take from Fable her extravagance, and make her yield to, and accept the form of, Hiſtory: but where ſhe obſtinately deſpiſes probability, and refuſes to mix with what is credible, we muſt implore the candour of our readers, and their kind allowance for the tales of Antiquity.

THESEUS, then, appeared to anſwer to Romulus in many particulars. Both were of uncertain parentage, born out of wedlock; and both had the repute of being ſprung from the gods. Both ſtood in the firſt rank of warriors; for both had great powers of mind, with great ſtrength of body. One was the founder of Rome, and one peopled Athens, the moſt illuſtrious cities in the world. Both carried off women by violence. Both were involved in domeſtic miſeries, and expoſed to family reſentment*: and both, towards the end of their lives, are ſaid to have offended their reſpective citizens, if we may believe what ſeems to be delivered with the leaſt mixture of poetical fiction.

The lineage of Theſeus, by his father's ſide, ſtretches to Erectheus and the firſt inhabitants of his country †; by his mother's ſide to Pelops ‡, who was the moſt powerful of all the Pelopenneſian kings, not only on account of his great opulence, but the number of his children; for he married his daughters to perſons of the firſt dignity, and found means to place his ſons at the head of the chief ſtates. One of them named Pittheus, grandfather to Theſeus, founded the ſmall city of Trœzene, and was eſteemed the moſt learned, and the wiſeſt man of his age. The

* ουδετερος δε δυστυχιαν περι τα οικεια και νεμεσιν εγγενη διεφυγεν.

† Theſeus was the ſixth in deſcent from Erectheus, or Ericthonius, ſaid to be the ſon of Vulcan and Minerva, or Cranaë, granddaughter of Cranaus, the ſecond king of Athens; ſo that Plutarch very juſtly ſays, that Theſeus was deſcended from the Autocthones, or firſt inhabitants of Attica, who were ſo called becauſe they pretended to be born in that very country. It is generally allowed, however, that this kingdom was founded by Cecrops an Egyptian, who brought hither a colony of Saites, about the year of the world 2448, before Chriſt 1556. The inhabitants of Attica were indeed a more ancient people than thoſe of many other diſtricts of Greece, which being of a more fertile ſoil, often changed their maſters, while few were ambitious of ſettling in a barren country.

‡ Pelops was the ſon of Tantalus, and of Phrygian extraction. He carried with him immenſe riches into Peloponneſus, which he had dug out of the mines of mount Sypilus. By means of this wealth, he got the government of the moſt conſiderable towns for his ſons, and married his daughters to princes.

The essence of the wisdom of those days consisted in such moral sentences as Hesiod * is celebrated for in his Book of Works. One of these is ascribed to Pittheus:

> Blast not the hope which friendship has conceived,
> But fill its measure high.

This is confirmed by Aristotle: and Euripides, in saying that Hippolytus was taught by "the sage and venerable Pittheus," gives him a very honourable testimony.

Ægeus, wanting to have children, is said to have received, from the Oracle at Delphi, that celebrated answer, which commanded him not to approach any woman before he returned to Athens. But as the Oracle seemed not to give him clear instruction, he came to Trœzene, and communicated it to Pittheus in the following terms.

> "The mystic vessel shall untouch'd remain,"
> Till in thy native realm——

It is uncertain what Pittheus saw in this Oracle. However, either by persuasion or deceit, he drew Ægeus into conversation with his daughter Æthra. Ægeus afterwards coming to know that she whom he had lain with was Pittheus's daughter, and suspecting her to be with child, hid a sword and a pair of sandals under a large stone, which had a cavity for the purpose. Before his departure, he told the secret to the princess only, and left orders, that if she brought forth a son, who, when he came to a man's estate, should be able to remove the stone, and take away the things left under it, she should send him with those tokens to him, with all imaginable privacy; for he was very much afraid that some plot would be formed against him by the Pallantidæ, who despised him for his want of children. These were fifty brothers, the sons of Pallas †.

Æthra

* Hesiod flourished about 500 years after Pittheus. Solomon wrote his Moral Sentences two or three hundred years after Pittheus.

† Pallas was brother to Ægeus; and as Ægeus was supposed to have no children, the Pallantidæ considered the kingdom of Athens as their undoubted inheritance. It was natural, therefore, for Ægeus to conclude, that if they came to know he had a son, they would attempt to assassinate either him or his son.

Æthra was delivered of a ſon; and ſome ſay he was immediately named Theſeus *, becauſe of the laying up of the tokens; others, that he received his name afterwards at Athens, when Ægeus acknowledged him for his ſon. He was brought up by Pittheus, and had a tutor named Connidas, to whom the Athenians, even in our times, ſacrifice a ram, on the day preceding the Theſéan Feaſts, giving this honour to his memory upon a much juſter account than that which they pay to Silanion and Parrhaſius, who only made ſtatues and pictures of Theſeus.

As it was then the cuſtom for ſuch as had arrived at man's eſtate, to go to Delphi to offer the firſt-fruits of their hair to Apollo, Theſeus went thither, and the place where this ceremony is performed, from him, is ſaid to be yet called Theſéa. He ſhaved, however, only the fore part of his head, as Homer tells us the Abantes did †; and this kind of tonſure, on his account, was called Theſeis. The Abantes firſt cut their hair in this manner, not in imitation of the Arabians, as ſome imagine, nor yet of the Myſians, but becauſe they were a warlike people, who loved cloſe fighting, and were more expert in it than any other nation. Thus Archilocus ‡:

These twang not bows, nor fling the hiſſing ſtone,
When Mars exults, and fields with armies groan:
Far nobler ſkill Eubœa's ſon's diſplay,
And with the thundering ſword decide the fray.

That they might not, therefore, give advantage to their enemies by their hair, they took care to cut it off. And we are informed that Alexander of Macedon, having made the ſame obſervation, ordered his Macedonian troops to cut off their beards, theſe being a ready handle in battle.

For

* The Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, gave names both to perſons and things from ſome event or circumſtance attending that which they were to name. The Greek word *Theſis* ſignifies *laying up*, and *theſthai uion, to acknowledge*, or rather *to adopt a ſon*. Ægeus did both; the ceremony of adoption being neceſſary to enable Theſeus, who was not a legitimate ſon, to inherit the crown.

† The Abantes were the inhabitants of Eubœa, but originally of Abae, a town in Thrace.

‡ Archilochus was a Greek poet, who lived about the time of Romulus. Homer had given the ſame account of the Abantes above three hundred years before. For, in the ſecond book of the Iliad, he tells us, the Abantes pierced the breaſt-plates of their enemies with extended ſpears or pikes; that is to ſay, they fought hand to hand.

For ſome time Æthra declared not the real father of Theſeus; but the report propagated by Pittheus was, that he was the ſon of Neptune: for the Trœzenians principally worſhip that god; he is the patron of their city; to him they offer their firſt-fruits; and their money bears the impreſſion of a trident. Theſeus, in his youth, diſcovering not only great ſtrength of body, but firmneſs and ſolidity of mind, together with a large ſhare of underſtanding and prudence, Æthra led him to the ſtone, and having told him the truth concerning his origin, ordered him to take up his father's tokens, and ſail to Athens. He eaſily removed the ſtone, but refuſed to go by ſea, though he might have done it with great ſafety, and though he was preſt to it by the entreaties of his grandfather and his mother; while it was hazardous, at that time, to go by land to Athens, becauſe no part was free from the danger of ruffians and robbers. Thoſe times, indeed, produced men of ſtrong and indefatigable powers of body, of extraordinary ſwiftneſs and agility; but they applied thoſe powers to nothing juſt or uſeful. On the contrary, their genius, their diſpoſition, their pleaſures tended only to inſolence, to violence, and to rapine. As for modeſty, juſtice, equity, and humanity, they looked upon them as qualities in which thoſe who had it in their power to add to their poſſeſſions, had no manner of concern; virtues praiſed only by ſuch as were afraid of being injured, and who abſtained from injuring others out of the ſame principle of fear. Some of theſe ruffians were cut off by Hercules in his peregrinations, while others eſcaped to their lurking-holes, and were ſpared by the hero in contempt of their cowardice. But when Hercules had unfortunately killed Iphitus, he retired to Lydia, where, for a long time, he was a ſlave to Omphale *, a puniſhment which he impoſed upon himſelf for the murder. The Lydians then enjoyed great quiet and ſecurity; but in Greece the ſame kind of enormities broke out anew, there being no one to reſtrain or quell them. It was therefore extremely dangerous to travel by land from Peloponneſus to Athens; and Pittheus, acquainting Theſeus with the number of theſe ruffians, and with their cruel

* Thoſe who had been guilty of murder became voluntary exiles, and impoſed on themſelves a certain penance, which they continued till they thought their crime expiated.

cruel treatment of ſtrangers, adviſed him to go by ſea. But he had long ſecretly been fired with the glory of Hercules, whom he held in the higheſt eſteem, liſtening with great attention to ſuch as related his achievements, particularly to thoſe that had ſeen him, converſed with him, and had been witneſſes to his proweſs. He was affected in the ſame manner as Themiſtocles afterwards was, when he declared that the trophies of Miltiades would not ſuffer him to ſleep. The virtues of Hercules were his dream by night, and by day emulation led him out, and ſpurred him on to perform ſome exploits like his. Beſides, they were nearly related, being born of couſin-germans; for Æthra was the daughter of Pittheus and Alcmena of Lyſidice, and Pittheus and Lyſidice were brother and ſiſter by Pelops and Hippodamia. He conſidered it, therefore, as an inſupportable diſhonour, that Hercules ſhould traverſe both ſea and land to clear them of theſe villains, while he himſelf declined ſuch adventures as occurred to him; diſgracing his reputed father, if he took his voyage, or rather flight, by ſea; and carrying to his real father a pair of ſandals and a ſword unſtained with blood, inſtead of the ornament of great and good actions, to aſſert and add luſtre to his noble birth. With ſuch thoughts and reſolutions as theſe he ſet forward, determined to injure no one, but to take vengeance of ſuch as ſhould offer him any violence.

He was firſt attacked by Periphetes, in Epidauria, whoſe weapon was a club, and who, on that account, was called Corynetes, or the Club-bearer. He engaged with him, and ſlew him. Delighted with the club, he took it for his weapon, and uſed it as Hercules did the lion's ſkin. The ſkin was a proof of the vaſt ſize of the wild beaſt which that hero had ſlain; and Theſeus carried about with him this club, whoſe ſtroke he had been able to parry, but which, in his hand, was irreſiſtible. In the Iſthmus he ſlew Sinnis the Pine-bender *, in the ſame manner as he had deſtroyed many others: and this he did, not as having learned or practiſed the bending of thoſe trees, but to ſhew that natural ſtrength is above all art. Sinnis had a daughter remarkable for her beauty and ſtature,

* Sinnis was ſo called from his bending the heads of two pines, and tying paſſengers between the oppoſite branches, which, by their ſudden return, tore them to pieces.

ſtature, named Perigune, who had concealed herſelf when her father was killed. Theſeus made diligent ſearch for her, and found, at laſt, that ſhe had retired into a place overgrown with ſhrubs, and ruſhes, and wild aſparagus. In her childiſh ſimplicity ſhe addreſſed her prayers and vows to theſe plants and buſhes, as if they could have a ſenſe of her misfortune, promiſing, if they would ſave and hide her, that ſhe would never burn or deſtroy them. But when Theſeus pledged his honour for treating her politely, ſhe came to him, and in due time brought him a ſon named Melanippus. Afterwards, by Theſeus's permiſſion, ſhe married Deïoneus, the ſon of Eurytus the Œchalian. Melanippus had a ſon named Ioxus, who joined with Ornytus in planting a colony in Caria: whence the Ioxides; with whom it is an inviolable rule, not to burn either ruſhes or wild aſparagus, but to honour and worſhip them.

About this time Crommyon was infeſted by a wild ſow named Phæä, a fierce and formidable creature. This ſavage he attacked and killed *, going out of his way to engage her, and thereby ſhewing an act of voluntary valour: for he believed it equally became a brave man to ſtand upon his defence againſt abandoned ruffians, and to ſeek out, and begin the combat with ſtrong and ſavage animals. But ſome ſay, that Phæä was an abandoned female robber, who dwelt in Crommyon; that ſhe had the name of Sow from her life and manners; and was afterwards ſlain by Theſeus.

In the borders of Megara he deſtroyed Sciron, a robber, by caſting him headlong from a precipice, as the ſtory generally goes: and it is added, that, in wanton villany, this Sciron uſed to make ſtrangers waſh his feet, and to take thoſe opportunities to puſh them into the ſea. But the writers of Megara in contradiction to this report, and, as Simonides expreſſes it, fighting with all antiquity, aſſert, that Sciron was neither a robber nor a ruffian, but, on the contrary, a deſtroyer of robbers, and a man whoſe heart and houſe were ever open to the good and the honeſt. For Æacus, ſay they, was looked upon as the juſteſt man in Greece, Cychreus of Salamis had divine honours

* In this inſtance our hero deviated from the principle he ſet out upon, which was never to be the aggreſſor in any engagement. The wild ſow was certainly no leſs reſpectable an animal than the pine-bender.

honours paid him at Athens, and the virtue of Peleus and Telamon too was univerſally known. Now Sciron was ſon-in-law to Cychreus, father-in-law to Æacus, and grandfather to Peleus and Telamon, who were both of them ſons of Endeis, the daughter of Sciron and Chariclo: therefore it was not probable that the beſt of men ſhould make ſuch alliances with one of ſo vile a character, giving and receiving the greateſt and deareſt pledges. Beſides, they tell us, that Theſeus did not ſlay Sciron in his firſt journey to Athens, but afterwards, when he took Eleuſis from the Megarenſians, having expelled Diocles, its chief magiſtrate, by a ſtratagem. In ſuch contradictions are theſe things involved.

At Eleuſis he engaged in wreſtling with Cercyon the Arcadian, and killed him on the ſpot. Proceeding to Hermione *, he put a period to the cruelties of Damaſtes, ſurnamed Procruſtes, making his body fit the ſize of his own beds, as he had ſerved ſtrangers. Theſe things he did in imitation of Hercules, who always returned upon the aggreſſors the ſame ſort of treatment which they intended for him; for that hero ſacrificed Buſiris, killed Antæus in wreſtling, Cygnus in ſingle combat, and broke the ſkull of Termerus; whence this is called the Termerian miſchief; for Termerus, it ſeems, deſtroyed the paſſengers he met by daſhing his head againſt theirs. Thus Theſeus purſued his travels to puniſh abandoned wretches, who ſuffered the ſame kind of death from him that they inflicted on others, and were requited with vengeance ſuitable to their crimes.

In his progreſs he came to the Cephiſus, where he was firſt ſaluted by ſome of the Phytalidæ †. Upon his deſire to have the cuſtomary purifications, they gave him them in due form, and having offered propitiatory ſacrifices, invited him to their houſes. This was the firſt hoſpitable treatment he met with on the road. He is ſaid to

* This ſeems to be a miſtake; for we know of no place called Harmione, or Hermione, between Eleuſis and Athens. Pauſanias calls it Erione; and the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, after Philochorus, call it Termione.

† Theſe were the deſcendants of Phytalus, with whom Ceres entruſted the ſuperintendence of her holy myſteries, in recompence for the hoſpitality with which ſhe had been treated at his houſe. Theſeus thought himſelf unfit to be admitted to thoſe myſteries without expiation, becauſe he had dipped his hands in blood, though it was only that of thieves and robbers.

to have arrived at Athens on the eight day of the month Cronius, which now they call Hecatombœon [July]. There he found the ſtate full of troubles and diſtraction, and the family of Ægeus in great diſorder: for Medea, who had fled from Corinth, promiſed by her art to enable Ægeus to have children, and was admitted to his bed. She firſt diſcovering Theſeus, whom as yet Ægeus did not know, perſuaded him, now in years, and full of jealouſies and ſuſpicions, on account of the faction that prevailed in the city, to prepare an entertainment for him as a ſtranger, and take him off by poiſon. Theſeus, coming to the banquet, did not intend to declare himſelf firſt, but, willing to give his father occaſion to find him out, when the meat was ſerved up, he drew his ſword *, as if he deſigned to carve with it, and took care it ſhould attract his notice. Ægeus quickly perceiving it, daſhed down the cup of poiſon, and after ſome queſtions, embraced him as his ſon: then aſſembling the people, he acknowledged him alſo before them, who received him with great ſatisfaction on account of his valour. The cup is ſaid to have fallen, and the poiſon to have been ſpilt, where the incloſure now is, in the place called Delphinium; for there it was that Ægeus dwelt; and the Mercury which ſtands on the eaſt-ſide of the temple, is yet called the Mercury of Ægeus's gate.

The Pallantidæ, who hoped to recover the kingdom, if Ægeus died childleſs, loſt all patience when Theſeus was declared his ſucceſſor. Exaſperated at the thought that Ægeus, who was not in the leaſt allied to the Erecthidæ, but only adopted by Pandion †, ſhould firſt gain the crown, and afterwards Theſeus, who was an emigrant and a ſtranger, they prepared for war; and dividing their forces, one party marched openly, with their father, from Sphettus to the city; and the other, concealing themſelves in Gargettus, lay in ambuſh, with a deſign to attack the enemy from two ſeveral quarters.

 They

* Some needleſs learning has been adduced to ſhew, that in the heroic times they carved with a cutlaſs or large knife, and not with a ſword; and that conſequently Plutarch here muſt certainly be miſtaken; but as μαχαιρα ſignifies either a cutlaſs or a ſword, how do we know that it was a ſword, and not a cutlaſs, which Ægeus hid under the ſtone?

† It had not been actually reported, that Ægeus was not the ſon of Pandion, but of Scyrias.

They had with them an herald named Leos, of the tribe of Agnus. This man carried to Theſeus an account of all the deſigns of the Pallantidæ; and he immediately fell upon thoſe that lay in ambuſh, and deſtroyed them. Pallas and his company being informed of this, thought fit to diſperſe. Hence it is ſaid to be, that the tribe of Pallene never intermarry with the Agnuſians, nor ſuffer any proclamation to begin with theſe words, *Akouete Leoi* [Hear, O ye people]; for they hate the very name of Leos, on account of the treachery of that herald.

Theſeus, deſirous to keep himſelf in action, and at the ſame time courting the favour of the people, went againſt the Marathonian bull, which did no ſmall miſchief to the inhabitants of Tetrapolis. When he had taken him, he brought him alive in triumph through the city, and afterwards ſacrificed him to the Delphinian Apollo. Hecale alſo, and the ſtory of her receiving and entertaining Theſeus, does not appear deſtitute of all foundation; for the people in that neighbourhood aſſemble to perform the Hecaleſian rites to Jupiter Hecalus: they honour Hecale too, calling her by the diminutive, Hecalene, becauſe when ſhe entertained Theſeus, while he was but a youth, ſhe careſſed him as perſons in years uſe to do children, and called him by ſuch tender diminutive names. She vowed, moreover, when he went to battle, to offer ſacrifices to Jupiter, if he returned ſafe; but as ſhe died before the end of the expedition, Theſeus performed thoſe holy rites in teſtimony of the grateful ſenſe he had of her hoſpitality. So Philochorus relates the ſtory *.

Not long after, there came the third time, from Crete, the collectors of the tribute, exacted on the following occaſion. Androgeus † being treacherouſly ſlain in Attica, a very fatal war was carried on againſt that country by Minos, and Divine Vengeance laid it waſte; for it was viſited by famine and peſtilence, and want of water increaſed their miſery. The remedy that Apollo propoſed was, that they ſhould appeaſe Minos, and be reconciled

* Philochorus was an Athenian hiſtorian, who flouriſhed in the reign of Ptolomy Philopater, about two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. He wrote many valuable pieces, of which nothing remains, but ſome fragments preſerved by other writers.

† Some ſay Ægeus cauſed him to be murdered, becauſe he was in the intereſt of the Pallantidæ; others, that he was killed by the Marathonian bull.

conciled to him; whereupon the wrath of Heaven would ceaſe, and their calamities come to a period. In conſequence of this, they ſent ambaſſadors with their ſubmiſſion; and, as moſt writers agree, engaged themſelves by treaty, to ſend every ninth year a tribute of ſeven young men and as many virgins. When theſe were brought into Crete, the fabulous account informs us, that they were deſtroyed by the Minotaur * in the Labyrinth, or that, loſt in its mazes, and unable to find the way out, they periſhed there. The Minotaur was, as Euripides tells us,

> A mingled form prodigious to behold,
> Half bull, half man!

But Philochorus ſays the Cretans deny this, and will not allow the labyrinth to have been any thing but a priſon, which had no other inconvenience than this, that thoſe who were confined there could not eſcape: And Minos having inſtituted games in honour of Androgeus, the prize for the victors was thoſe youths, who had been kept till that time in the labyrinth....He that firſt won the prizes in thoſe games, was a perſon of great authority in the court of Minos, and general of his armies, named Taurus, who being unmerciful and ſavage in his nature, had treated the Athenian youths with great inſolence and cruelty... And it is plain that Ariſtotle himſelf, in his Account of the Botticæan Government, does not ſuppoſe that the young men were put to death by Minos, but that they lived, ſome of them to old age, in ſervile employments in Crete. He adds, that the Cretans, in purſuance of an ancient vow, once ſent a number of their firſt-born to Delphi, among whom were ſome of the deſcendants of theſe Athenian ſlaves, who not being able to ſupport themſelves there, firſt paſſed from thence into Italy, where they ſettled about Japygia; and from thence they removed again into Thrace, and were called Botticæans. Wherefore the Botticæan virgins, in ſome ſolemnities of religion, ſing, "To Athens let us go." And, indeed, it ſeems dangerous to be at enmity with a city which is the ſeat of eloquence and learning: For Minos

* Feigned by the poets to have been begot by a bull upon Paſiphaë, Minos's queen, who was inſpired, it ſeems, with this horrid paſſion by Neptune, in revenge for Minos's refuſing him a beautiful bull, which he expected as an offering.

Minos always was satirized on the Athenian stage; nor was his fame sufficiently rescued by Hesiod's calling him "Supreme of Kings," or Homer's saying that he "conversed with Jove;" for the writers of tragedy prevailing, represented him as a man of vicious character*, violent, and implacable; yet, inconsistently enough, they say that Minos was a king and a lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was an upright judge, and guardian of the laws which Minos had made.

When the time of the third tribute came, and those parents who had sons not arrived at full maturity, were obliged to resign them to the lot, complaints against Ægeus sprung up again among the people, who expressed their grief and resentment, that he who was the cause of all their misfortunes bore no part of the punishment, and while he was adopting, and raising to the succession, a stranger of spurious birth, took no thought for them who lost their legitimate children. Those things were matter of great concern to Theseus, who, to express his regard for justice, and take his share in the common fortune, voluntarily offered himself as one of the seven, without lot. The citizens were charmed with this proof of his magnanimity and public spirit; and Ægeus himself, when he saw that no entreaties or persuasions availed to turn him from it, gave out the lots for the rest of the young men. But Hellanicus says, that the youths and virgins which the city furnished were not chosen by lot, but that Minos came in person and selected them, and Theseus before the rest, upon these conditions: That the Athenians should furnish a vessel, and the young men embark and sail along with him, but carry no arms; and that if they could kill the Minotaur, there should be an end of the tribute. There appearing no hopes of safety for the youths in the two former tributes, they sent out a ship with the black sail, as carrying them to certain ruin. But when Theseus encouraged his father by his confidence of success against the Minotaur, he gave another sail, a white one, to the pilot, ordering him, if he brought Theseus safe back, to hoist the white; but if not, to sail with the black one in token of his misfortune. Simonides, however, tells us, that

* This is a mistake, into which Plutarch and several other writers have fallen. There were two of the name of Minos. One was the son of Jupiter and Europa, and a just and excellent prince; the other, his grandson, and son of Lycaster, was a tyrant.

that it was not a white ſail which Ægeus gave, but a ſcarlet one dyed with the juice of the flower of a very flouriſhing holm-oak *, and that this was to be the ſignal that all was well. He adds, that Phereclus, the ſon of Amarſyas, was pilot of the ſhip: but Philochorus ſays, that Theſeus had a pilot ſent him by Sciras, from Salamis, named Nauſitheus, and one Phæax to be at the prow, becauſe as yet the Athenians had not applied themſelves to navigation †; and that Sciras did this, becauſe one of the young men, named Meneſthes, was his daughter's ſon. This is confirmed by the monuments of Nauſitheus and Phæax, built by Theſeus, at Phalerum, near the Temple of Sciron; and the feaſt called Cyberneſia, or the Pilots' Feaſt, is ſaid to be kept in honour of them.

When the lots were caſt, Theſeus taking with him, out of the Prytaneum, thoſe upon whom they fell, went to the Delphinian temple, and made an offering to Apollo for them. This offering was a branch of conſecrated olive bound about with white wool. Having paid his devotions, he embarked on the ſixth of April; at which time they ſtill ſend the virgins to Delphinium to propitiate the god. It is reported that the oracle at Delphi commanded him to take Venus for his guide, and entreat her to be his companion in the voyage; and when he ſacrificed to her a ſhe-goat on the ſea-ſhore, its ſex was immediately changed: hence the goddeſs had the name of Epitragia.

When he arrived in Crete, according to moſt hiſtorians and poets, Ariadne, falling in love with him, gave him a clue of thread, and inſtructed him how to paſs with it through the intricacies of the labyrinth. Thus aſſiſted, he killed the Minotaur, and then ſet ſail, carrying off Ariadne, together with the young men. Pherecydes ſays, that Theſeus broke up the keels of the Cretan ſhips, to prevent their purſuit. But, as Demon has it, he killed Taurus, Minos's commander, who engaged him in the harbour, juſt as he was ready to ſail out. Again, according to Philochorus, when Minos celebrated the games in

* It is not the flower, but the fruit of the Ilex, full of little worms, which the Arabians call Kermes, from which a ſcarlet dye is procured.

† The Athenians, according to Homer, ſent fifty ſhips to Troy; but thoſe were only tranſport ſhips. Thucydides aſſures us, that they did not begin to make any figure at ſea till ten or twelve years after the battle of Marathon, near ſeven hundred years after the ſiege of Troy.

in honour of his ſon, it was believed that Taurus would bear away the prizes in them as formerly, and every one grudged him that honour; for his exceſſive power and haughty behaviour were intolerable; and, beſides, he was accuſed of too great a familiarity with Paſiphaë: therefore, when Theſeus deſired the combat, Minos permitted it. In Crete it was the cuſtom for the women as well as the men to ſee the games; and Ariadne, being preſent, was ſtruck with the perſon of Theſeus, and with his ſuperior vigour and addreſs in the wreſtling-ring. Minos too was greatly delighted, eſpecially when he ſaw Taurus vanquiſhed and diſgraced; and this induced him to give up the young men to Theſeus, and to remit the tribute. Clidemus beginning higher, gives a prolix account of theſe matters, according to his manner. There was, it ſeems, a decree throughout all Greece, that no veſſel ſhould ſail with more than five hands, except the Argo commanded by Jaſon, who was appointed to clear the ſea of pirates. But when Dædalus eſcaped by ſea to Athens, Minos purſuing him with his men of war, contrary to the decree, was driven by a ſtorm to Sicily, and there ended his life. And when Deucalion his ſucceſſor, purſuing his father's quarrels with the Athenians, demanded that they ſhould deliver up Dædalus, and threatened, if they did not, to make away with the hoſtages that Minos had received, Theſeus gave him a mild anſwer, alleging that Dædalus was his relation, nearly allied in blood, being ſon to Merope the daughter of Erectheus. But privately he prepared a fleet, part of it among the Thymætadæ, at a diſtance from any public road, and part under the direction of Pittheus, at Trœzene. When it was ready, he ſet ſail, taking Dædalus, and the reſt of the fugitives from Crete, for his guide. The Cretans receiving no information of the matter, and when they ſaw his fleet, taking them for friends, he eaſily gained the harbour, and making a deſcent, proceeded immediately to Gnoſſus. There he engaged with Deucalion and his guards, before the gates of the labyrinth, and ſlew them. The government by this means falling to Ariadne, he entered into an agreement with her, by which he received the young captives, and made a perpetual league between the Athenians and the Cretans, both ſides ſwearing to proceed to hoſtilities no more.

There

There are many other reports about theſe things, and as many concerning Ariadne, but none of any certainty. For ſome ſay, that being deſerted by Theſeus, ſhe hanged herſelf; others, that ſhe was carried by the mariners to Naxos, and there married Onarus the prieſt of Bacchus, Theſeus having left her for another miſtreſs:

> For Ægle's charms had pierc'd the hero's heart.

Whereas the Megarenſian tells us, that Piſiſtratus ſtruck the line out of Heſiod; as, on the contrary, to gratify the Athenians, he added this other to Homer's deſcription of the ſtate of the dead:

> The godlike Theſeus and the great Pirithous.

Some ſay Ariadne had two ſons by Theſeus, Œnopion and Staphylus. With theſe agrees Ion of Chios, who ſays of his native city, that it was built by Œnopion the ſon of Theſeus.

But the moſt ſtriking paſſages of the poets, relative to theſe things, are in every body's mouth. Something more particular is delivered by Pæon the Amathuſian. He relates, that Theſeus, being driven by a ſtorm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child, and extremely diſcompoſed with the agitation of the ſea, he ſet her on ſhore, and left her alone, while he returned to take care of the ſhip; but by a violent wind was forced out again to ſea: that the women of the country received Ariadne kindly, conſoled her under her loſs, and brought her feigned letters as from Theſeus: that they attended and aſſiſted her, when ſhe fell in labour; and, as ſhe died in child-bed, paid her the funeral honours: that Theſeus, on his return, greatly afflicted at the news, left money with the inhabitants, ordering them to pay divine honours to Ariadne; and that he cauſed two little ſtatues of her to be made, one of ſilver, and the other of braſs: that they celebrate her feſtival on the ſecond of September, when a young man lies down, and imitates the cries and geſture of a woman in travail: and that the Amathuſians call the grove in which they ſhew her tomb, the Grove of Venus Ariadne.

Some of the Naxian writers relate, that there were two Minos's, and two Ariadnes; one of which was married to Bacchus in Naxos, and had a ſon named Staphylus; the other, of a later age, being carried off by Theſeus, and

and afterwards deserted, came to Naxos, with her nurse Corcyne, whose tomb is still shewn. That this Ariadne died there, and had different honours paid her from the former; for the feasts of one were celebrated with mirth and revels, while the sacrifices of the other were mixed with sorrow and mourning *.

Theseus, in his return from Crete, put in at Delos †; and having sacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated a statue of Venus, which he received from Ariadne, he joined with the young men in a dance, which the Delians are said to practise at this day. It consists in an imitation of the mazes and outlets of the labyrinth, and, with various involutions and evolutions, is performed in regular time. This kind of dance, as Dicæarchus informs us, is called by the Delians the Crane ‡. He danced it round the altar Keraton, which was built entirely of the left-side horns of beasts. He is also said to have instituted games in Delos, where he began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.

When they drew near to Attica, both Theseus and the pilot were so transported with joy, that they forgot to hoist the sail which was to be the signal to Ægeus of their safety, who, therefore, in despair, threw himself from the rock, and was dashed to pieces. Theseus disembarked, and performed those sacrifices to the gods which he had vowed at Phalerum, when he set sail, and sent a herald to the city, with an account of his safe return. The messenger met with numbers lamenting the fate of the king, and others rejoicing, as it was natural to expect, at the return of Theseus, welcoming him with the greatest kindness, and ready to crown him with flowers for his good news. He received the chaplets, and twined them round his herald's staff. Returning to the sea-shore, and finding that Theseus had not yet finished his libations, he stopped without, not choosing to disturb the sacrifice. When the libations were over, he announced the death of Ægeus. Upon this, they hastened, with sorrow and tumultuous

* The Feasts of Ariadne, the wife of Bacchus, were celebrated with joy, to denote that she was become a divinity; those of the other Ariadne signified that she fell like a mere mortal.

† Hence came the custom of sending annually a deputation from Athens to Delos, to sacrifice to Apollo.

‡ This dance, Callimachus tells us, was a particular one; and probably it was called the Crane, because cranes commonly fly in the figure of a circle.

multuous lamentations, to the city. Hence, they tell us, it is, that, in the Oſchophoria, or Feaſt of Boughs, to this day the herald is not crowned, but his ſtaff; and thoſe that are preſent at the libations cry out, *Eleleu! Jöü, jöü* *! The former is the exclamation of haſte and triumph, and the latter of trouble and confuſion. Theſeus, having buried his father, paid his vows to Apollo on the ſeventh of October: for on that day they arrived ſafe at Athens. The boiling of all ſorts of pulſe at that time is ſaid to take its riſe from their mixing the remains of their proviſions, when they found themſelves ſafe aſhore, boiling them in one pot, and feaſting upon them all together. In that feaſt they alſo carry a branch bound about with wool, ſuch as they then made uſe of in their ſupplications, which they call Eireſione, laden with all ſorts of fruits; and to ſignify the ceaſing of ſcarcity at that time, they ſing this ſtrain:

The golden ear, th' ambroſial hive,
In fair Eireſione thrive.
See the juicy figs appear!
Olives crown the wealthy year!
See the cluſter-bending vine!
See, and drink, and drop ſupine!

Some pretend that this ceremony is retained in memory of the Heraclidæ †, who were entertained in that manner by the Athenians; but the greater part relate it as above delivered.

The veſſel in which Theſeus ſailed, and returned ſafe, with thoſe young men, went with thirty oars. It was preſerved by the Athenians to the times of Demetrius Phalereus ‡; being ſo pieced and new framed with ſtrong plank, that it afforded an example to the philoſophers, in their diſputations concerning the identity of things that are

* *Eleleu* denotes the joy and precipitation with which Theſeus marched towards Athens; and *Jöü, jöü*, his ſorrow for the death of his father.

† The deſcendants of Hercules, being driven out of Peloponneſus and all Greece, applied to the Athenians for their protection, which was granted: and as they went as ſuppliants, they went with branches in their hands. This ſubject is treated by Euripides in his Heraclidæ.

‡ That is near 1000 years. For Theſeus returned from Crete about the year before Chriſt 1235, and Callimachus, who was cotemporary with Demetrius, and who tells us the Athenians continued to ſend this ſhip to Delos in his time, flouriſhed about the year before Chriſt 280.

are changed by growth; some contending that it was the same, and others that it was not.

The feast called Oschophoria *, which the Athenians still celebrate, was then first instituted by Theseus. For he did not take with him all the virgins upon whom the lot had fallon, but selected two young men of his acquaintance who had feminine and florid aspects, but were not wanting in spirit and presence of mind. These, by warm bathing, and keeping them out of the sun, by providing unguents for their hair and complexions, and every thing necessary for their dress, by forming their voice, their manner, and their step, he so effectually altered, that they passed among the virgins designed for Crete, and no one could discern the difference.

At his return, he walked in procession with the same young men, drest in the manner of those who now carry the branches. These are carried in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, on account of the story before related; or rather because they returned at the time of gathering ripe fruits. The Deipnophoræ, women who carry the provisions, bear a part in the solemnity, and have a share in the sacrifice, to represent the mothers of those upon whom the lots fell, who brought their children provisions for the voyage. Fables and tales are the chief discourse, because the women then told their children stories to comfort them and keep up their spirits. These particulars are taken from the History of Demon. There was a place consecrated, and a temple erected to Theseus; and those families which would have been liable to the tribute, in case it had continued, were obliged to pay a tax to the temple for sacrifices. These were committed to the care of the Phytalidæ, Theseus doing them that honour in recompence of their hospitality.

After

* This ceremony was performed in the following manner: They made choice of a certain number of youths of the most noble families in each tribe, whose fathers and mothers both were living. They bore vine-branches in their hands, with grapes upon them, and ran from the temple of Bacchus to that of Minerva Sciradia, which was near the Phalerean gate. He that arrived there first drank off a cup of wine, mingled with honey, cheese, meal, and oil. They were followed by a chorus conducted by two young men dressed in women's apparel, the chorus singing a song in praise of those young men. Certain women, with baskets on their heads, attended them, and were chosen for that office from among the most wealthy of the citizens. The whole procession was headed by a herald, bearing a staff encircled with boughs.

After the death of Ægeus, he undertook and effected a prodigious work. He settled all the inhabitants of Attica in Athens, and made them one people in one city, who before were scattered up and down, and could with difficulty be assembled on any pressing occasion for the public good. Nay, often such differences had happened between them, as ended in bloodshed. The method he took was to apply to them in particular by their tribes and families. Private persons and the poor easily listened to his summons. To the rich and great he represented the advantage of a government without a king, where the chief power should be in the people, while he himself only desired to command in war, and to be the guardian of the laws; in all the rest, every one would be upon an equal footing. Part of them hearkened to his persuasions; and others, fearing his power, which was already very great, as well as his enterprising spirit, chose rather to be persuaded, than to be forced to submit. Dissolving, therefore, the corporations, the councils, and courts in each particular town, he built one common Prytaneum and court-hall, where it stands to this day. The citadel, with its dependencies, and the city, or the old and new town, he united under the common name of Athens, and instituted the Panathenæa as a common sacrifice *. He appointed also the Metoecia, or Feast of Migration †, and fixed it to the sixteenth of July, and so it still continues. Giving up the kingly power, as he had promised, he settled the commonwealth under the auspices of the gods; for he consulted the Oracle at Delphi concerning his new government, and received this answer:

From

* The Athenæa were celebrated before, in honour of the Goddess Minerva; but as that was a feast peculiar to the city of Athens, Theseus enlarged it, and made it common to all the inhabitants of Attica; and therefore it was called Panathenæa. There were the greater and the less Panathenæa. The less were kept annually, and the greater every fifth year. In the latter they carried in procession the mysterious *peplum* or veil of Minerva, on which were embroidered the victory of the gods over the giants, and the most remarkable achievements of their heroes.

† In memory of their quitting the boroughs, and uniting in one city.

On this occasion, he likewise instituted, or at least restored, the famous Isthmian games, in honour of Neptune. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers; and as a farther encouragement for them to come and settle in Athens, he gave them the privileges of natives.

From royal ſtems thy honour, Theſeus, ſprings;
By Jove beloved, the ſire ſupreme of kings.
See riſing towns, ſee wide-extended ſtates,
On thee dependent, aſk their future fates!
Hence, hence with fear! Thy favoured bark ſhall ride
Safe o'er the ſurges of the foamy tide *.

With this agrees the Sibyl's prophecy, which, we are told, ſhe delivered long after, concerning Athens:

The bladder may be dipp'd, but never drown'd.

Deſiring yet farther to enlarge the city, he invited all ſtrangers to equal privileges in it; and the words ſtill in uſe, "Come hither, all ye people," are ſaid to be the beginning of a proclamation, which Theſeus ordered to be made when he compoſed a commonwealth, as it were, of all nations. Yet he left it not in the confuſion and diſorder likely to enſue from the confluence and ſtrange mixture of people, but diſtinguiſhed them into noblemen, huſbandmen, and mechanics. The nobility were to have the care of religion, to ſupply the city with magiſtrates, to explain the laws, and to interpret whatever related to the worſhip of the gods. As to the reſt, he balanced the citizens againſt each other as nearly as poſſible; the nobles excelling in dignity, the huſbandmen in uſefulneſs, and the artificers in number. It appears from Ariſtotle, that Theſeus was the firſt who inclined to a democracy, and gave up the regal power; and Homer alſo ſeems to bear witneſs to the ſame in his catalogue of ſhips, where he gives the name of People to the Athenians only. To his money he gave the impreſſion of an ox, either on account of the Marathonian bull, or becauſe of Minos's general Taurus, or becauſe he would encourage the citizens in agriculture. Hence came the expreſſion of a thing being worth ten or an hundred oxen. Having alſo made a ſecure acquiſition of the country about Megara to the territory of Athens, he ſet up the famed pillar in the Iſthmus †, and inſcribed it

* In the original it is, "Safe, like a bladder, *&c.*" When Sylla had taken Athens, and exerciſed all manner of cruelties there, ſome Athenians went to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, Whether the laſt hour of their city was come? and the prieſteſs, according to Pauſanias, made anſwer, τα εις τον ασκον εχοντα, *That which belongs to the bladder* now has an end, plainly referring to the old prophecy here delivered.

† This pillar was erected by the common conſent of the Ionians and Peloponneſians, to put an end to the diſputes about their boundaries;

it with two verses to distinguish the boundaries. That on the east-side ran thus;

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia:

and that on the west was,

This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.

He likewise instituted games in imitation of Hercules, being ambitious, that as the Greeks, in pursuance of that hero's appointment, celebrated the Olympic games in honour of Jupiter, so they should celebrate the Isthmian in honour of Neptune: for the rites performed there before, in memory of Melicertes, were observed in the night, and had more the air of mysteries, than of a public spectacle and assembly. But some say the Isthmian games were dedicated to Sciron, Theseus inclining to expiate his untimely fate, by reason of their being so nearly related; for Sciron was the son of Canethus and Henioche, the daughter of Pittheus. Others will have it, that Sinnis was their son, and that to him, and not to Sciron, the games were dedicated. He made an agreement too with the Corinthians, that they should give the place of honour to the Athenians who came to the Isthmian games, as far as the ground could be covered with the sail of the public ship that brought them, when stretched to its full extent. This particular we learn from Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus.

Philochorus and some others relate, that he sailed, in company with Hercules, into the Euxine sea, to carry on war with the Amazons *, and that he received Antiope † as the reward of his valour: but the greater number, among whom are Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus, tell us, that Theseus made that voyage, with his own fleet only, some time after Hercules, and took that Amazon captive, which is indeed the more probable account; for we

daries; and it continued to the reign of Codrus, during which it was demolished by the Heraclidæ, who had made themselves masters of the territory of Megara, which thereby passed from the Ionians to the Dorians. *Strabo*, lib. ix.

* Nothing can be more fabulous than the whole history of the Amazons. Strabo observes, that the most credible of Alexander's historians have not so much as mentioned them: and indeed, if they were a Scythian nation, how came they all to have Greek names?

† Justin says Hercules gave Hippolyte to Theseus, and kept Antiope for himself.

we do not read that any other of his fellow-warriors made any Amazon priſoner. But Bion ſays, he took and carried her off by a ſtratagem. The Amazons, being naturally lovers of men, were ſo far from avoiding Theſeus, when he touched upon their coaſts, that they ſent him preſents. Theſeus invited Antiope, who brought them into his ſhip, and as ſoon as ſhe was aboard, ſet ſail. But the account of one Menecratés, who publiſhed a Hiſtory of Nice, in Bithynia, is, that Theſeus, having Antiope aboard his veſſel, remained in thoſe parts ſome time; and that he was attended in that expedition by three young men of Athens, who were brothers, Euneos, Thoas, and Soloon. The laſt of theſe, unknown to the reſt, fell in love with Antiope, and communicated his paſſion to one of his companions, who applied to Antiope about the affair. She firmly rejected his pretenſions, but treated him with civility, and prudently concealed the matter from Theſeus. But Soloon, in deſpair, having leaped into a river, and drowned himſelf, Theſeus, then ſenſible of the cauſe, and the young man's paſſion, lamented his fate, and, in his ſorrow, recollected an oracle which he had formerly received at Delphi. The prieſteſs had ordered, that when, in ſome foreign country, he ſhould labour under the greateſt affliction, he ſhould build a city there, and leave ſome of his followers to govern it. Hence he called the city which he built Pythopolis, after the Pythian God, and the neighbouring river Soloon, in honour of the young man. He left the two ſurviving brothers to govern it, and give it laws; and along with them Hermus, who was of one of the beſt families in Athens. From him the inhabitants of Pythopolis call a certain place in their city Hermes's Houſe, [*Hermoû oikia*], and by miſplacing an accent, transfer the honour from the hero to the God Mercury.

Hence the war with the Amazons took its riſe. And it appears to have been no ſlight or womaniſh enterprize; for they could not have encamped in the town, or joined battle on the ground about the Pnyx * and the Muſeum †, or

* The Pnyx was a place (near the citadel) where the people of Athens uſed to aſſemble, and where the orators ſpoke to them about public affairs.

† The Muſeum was upon a little hill over-againſt the citadel, and probably ſo called from a temple of the Muſes there.

or fallen in ſo intrepid a manner upon the city of Athens, unleſs they had firſt reduced the country about it. It is difficult, indeed, to believe (though Hellanicus has related it) that they croſſed the Cimmerian Boſphorus upon the ice: but that they encamped almoſt in the heart of the city is confirmed by the names of places, and by the tombs of thoſe that fell.

There was a long pauſe and delay before either army would begin the attack. At laſt, Theſeus, by the direction of ſome oracle, offered a ſacrifice to Fear *, and after that immediately engaged. The battle was fought in the month Boëdromion, [September] the day on which the Athenians ſtill celebrate the feaſt called Boëdromia. Clidemus, who is willing to be very particular, writes, that the left wing of the Amazons moved towards what is now called the Amozonium; and that the right extended as far as the Pynx, near Chryſa: That the Athenians firſt engaged with the left wing of the Amazons, falling upon them from the Muſeum; and that the tombs of thoſe that fell in the battle are in the ſtreet which leads to the gate called Piraïca, which is by the monument erected in honour of Chalcodon, where the Athenians were routed by the Amazons, and fled as far as the Temple of the Furies: but that the left wing of the Athenians, which charged from the Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceum, drove the right wing of the enemy to their camp, and ſlew many of them: That after four months, a peace was concluded by means of Hippolyte; for ſo this author calls the Amazon that attended with Theſeus, not Antiope. But ſome ſay this heroine fell fighting by Theſeus's ſide, being pierced with a dart by Molpadia, and that a pillar, by the Temple of the Olympian earth †, was ſet up over her grave. Nor is it to be wondered, that, in the account of things ſo very ancient, hiſtory ſhould be

* The heathens conſidered not only the paſſions, but even diſtempers, ſtorms, and tempeſts, as divinities, and worſhipped them that they might do them no harm.

† By this is meant the moon, ſo called (as Plutarch ſuppoſes in his Treatiſe on the ceſſation of Oracles) becauſe, like the Genii or Demons, ſhe is neither ſo perfect as the gods, nor ſo imperfect as human kind. But as ſome of the philoſophers, we mean the Pythagoreans, had aſtronomy enough afterwards to conclude that the ſun is the centre of this ſyſtem, we preſume it might occur to thinking men in the more early ages, that the moon was an opaque, and, therefore, probably a terrene body.

be thus uncertain, ſince they tell us that ſome Amazons, wounded by Antiope, were privately ſent to Chalcis to be cured, and that ſome were buried there, at a place now called Amazonium. But that the war was ended by a league, we may aſſuredly gather from a place called Horcomoſium, near the temple of Theſeus, where it was ſworn to, as well as from an ancient ſacrifice, which is offered to the Amazons the day before the feaſt of Theſeus. The people of Megara too ſhew a place, in the figure of a lozenge, where ſome Amazons were buried, as you go from the market-place to the place called Rhus. Others alſo are ſaid to have died by Chæronea, and to have been buried by the rivulet, which, it ſeems, was formerly called Thermodon, but now Hæmon; of which I have given a farther account in the Life of Demoſthenes. It appears likewiſe, that the Amazons traverſed Theſſaly, not without oppoſition; for their ſepulchres are ſhewn to this day, between Scotuſſæa and Cynoſcephalæ.

This is all that is memorable in the ſtory of the Amazons: for as to what the author of the Theſéid rrlates, of the Amazons riſing to take vengeance for Antiope, when Theſeus quitted her, and married Phædra, and of their being ſlain by Hercules, it has plainly the air of fable. Indeed he married Phædra after the death of Antiope, having by the Amazon a ſon named Hippolytus *, or, according to Pindar, Demophon. As to the calamities which befel Phædra and Hippolytus, ſince the hiſtorians do not differ from what the writers of tragedy have ſaid of them, we may look upon them as matters of fact.

Some

* Theſeus had a ſon, by the Amazonian queen, named Hippolytus, having ſoon after married Phædra, the ſiſter of Deucalion, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Minos, by whom he had two ſons; he ſent Hippolytus to be brought up by his own mother Æthra, queen of Trœzene: but he coming afterwards to be preſent at ſome Athenians games, Phædra fell in love with him, and having ſolicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of reſentment, accuſed him to Theſeus of having made an attempt upon her chaſtity. The fable ſays, that Theſeus prayed to Neptune to puniſh him by ſome violent death; and all ſolemn execrations, according to the notions of the heathens, certainly taking effect, as Hippolytus was riding along the ſea-ſhore, Neptune ſent two ſea-calves, who frightened the horſes, overturned the chariot, and tore him to pieces. The poets add, that the luſtful queen hanged herſelf for grief; but as for Hippolytus, Diana being taken with his chaſtity, and pitying the ſad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon Æſculapius to reſtore him to life, to be a companion of her diverſions.

Some other marriages of Thefeus are fpoken of, but have not been reprefented on the ftage, which had neither an honourable beginning, nor a happy conclufion. He is alfo faid to have forcibly carried off Anaxo of Trœzene, and having flain Sinnis and Cercyon, to have committed rapes upon their daughters: to have married Peribœa, the mother of Ajax, too, and Pherobœa, and Iope the daughter of Iphicles. Befides they charge him with being enamoured of Ægle, the daughter of Panopeus, (as above related) and, for her, leaving Ariadne, contrary to the rules both of juftice and honour; but above all, with the rape of Helen, which involved Attica in war, and ended in his banifhment and death, of which we fhall fpeak more at large by and by.

Though there were many expeditions undertaken by the heroes of thofe times, Herodorus thinks that Thefeus was not concerned in any of them, except in affifting the Lapithæ againft the Centaurs. Others write, that he attended Jafon to Colchos, and Meleager in killing the boar; and that hence came the proverb, "Nothing "without Thefeus." It is allowed, however, that Thefeus, without any affiftance, did himfelf perform many great exploits; and that the extraordinary inftances of his valour gave occafion to the faying, "This man is "another Hercules." Thefeus was likewife affifting to Adraftus, in recovering the bodies of thofe that fell before Thebes, not by defeating the Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy, but by perfuading them to a truce; for fo moft writers agree: and Philochorus is of opinion, that this was the firft truce ever known for burying the dead. But Hercules was, indeed, the firft who gave up their dead to the enemy, as we have fhewn in his life. The burying-place of the common foldiers is to be feen at Eleutheræ, and of the officers at Eleufis; in which particular Thefeus gratified Adraftus. Æfchylus, in whofe tragedy of the Eleufinians Thefeus is introduced relating the matter as above, contradicts what Euripides has delivered in his Suppliants.

The friendfhip between Thefeus and Pirithous is faid to have commenced on this occafion. Thefeus being much celebrated for his ftrength and valour, Pirithous was defirous to prove it, and therefore drove away his oxen from Marathon. When he heard that Thefeus purfued him in arms, he did not fly, but turned back to meet

meet him. But, as ſoon as they beheld one another, each was ſo ſtruck with admiration of the other's perſon and courage, that they laid aſide all thoughts of fighting; and Pirithous firſt giving Theſeus his hand, bade him be judge in this cauſe himſelf, and he would willingly abide by his ſentence. Theſeus, in his turn, left the cauſe to him, and deſired him to be his friend and fellow-warrior. Then they confirmed their friendſhip with an oath. Pirithous afterwards marrying Deidamia *, intreated Theſeus to viſit his country, and to become acquainted with the Lapithæ †. He had alſo invited the Centaurs to the entertainment. Theſe, in their cups behaving with inſolence and indecency, and not even refraining from the women, the Lapithæ roſe up in their defence, killed ſome of the Centaurs upon the ſpot, and ſoon after beating them in a ſet battle, drove them out of the country with the aſſiſtance of Theſeus. Herodorus relates the matter differently. He ſays that, hoſtilities being already begun, Theſeus came in aid to the Lapithæ, and then had the firſt ſight of Hercules, having made it his buſineſs to find him out at Trachin, where he repoſed himſelf after all his wanderings and labours; and that this interview paſſed in marks of great reſpect, civility, and mutual compliments. But we are rather to follow thoſe hiſtorians who write, that they had very frequent interviews; and that by means of Theſeus, Hercules was initiated into the myſteries of Ceres, having firſt obtained luſtration, as he deſired, on account of ſeveral involuntary pollutions.

Theſeus was now fifty years old, according, to Hellanicus, when he was concerned in the rape of ‡ Helen, who had not yet arrived at years of maturity. Some writers, thinking this one of the heavieſt charges againſt him, endeavour to correct it, by ſaying that it was not Theſeus that carried off Helen, but Idas and Lynceus, who committed her to his care, and that therefore he refuſed to give

* All other writers call her Hippodamia, except Propertius, who calls her Iſchomacha. She was the daughter of Adraſtus.

† Homer calls the Lapithæ heroes. The Centaurs are feigned to have been half man half horſe, either from their brutality, or becauſe (if not the inventors of horſemanſhip, yet) they generally appeared on horſeback.

‡ This princeſs was the reputed daughter of Jupiter, by Leda the wife of Tyndarus, king of Œbalia, in Peloponneſus; and tho' then but nine years old, was reckoned the greateſt beauty in the world.

give her up, when demanded by Castor and Pollux; or rather that she was delivered to him by Tyndarus himself, to keep her from Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocoon, who endeavoured to possess himself by violence of Helen, that was yet but a child. But what authors generally agree in, as most probable is as follows: The two friends went together to Sparta, and having seen the girl dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia, carried her off, and fled. The pursuers that were sent after them following no farther than Tegea, they thought themselves secure, and having traversed Peloponnesus, they entered into an agreement, that he who should gain Helen by lot should have her to wife, but be obliged to assist in procuring a wife for the other. In consequence of these terms, the lots being cast, she fell to Theseus, who received the virgin, and conveyed her, as she was not yet marriageable, to Aphidnæ. Here he placed his mother with her, and committed them to the care of his frieud Aphidnus, charging him to keep them in the utmost secrecy and safety; whilst, to pay his debt of service to Pirithous, himself travelled with him into Epirus, with a view to the daughter of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossians. This prince named his wife Proserpine *, his daughter Coré, and his dog Cerberus: with this dog he commanded all his daughters suitors to fight, promising her to him that should overcome him. But understanding that Pirithous came not with an intention to court his daughter, but to carry her off by force, he seized both him and his friend, destroyed Pirithous immediately by means of his dog, and shut up Theseus in close prison.

Mean time Menestheus, the son of Peteus, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erectheus, is said to be the first of mankind that undertook to be a demagogue, and by his eloquence to ingratiate himself with the people. He endeavoured also to exasperate and inspire the nobility with sedition, who had but ill born with Theseus for some time, reflecting that he had deprived every person of family of his government and command, and shut

* Proserpine and Coré was the same person, daughter to Aïdoneus, whose wife was named Ceres. Plutarch himself tells us so in his Morals, where he adds, that by Proserpine is meant the Moon, whom Pluto, or the God of Darkness, sometimes carries off. Indeed, *Coré* signifies nothing more than *young woman* or *daughter*; and they might say a *daughter of* Epirus, as we say a *daughter of* France, or *of* Spain.

ſhut them up together in one city, where he uſed them as his ſubjects and ſlaves. Among the common people he ſowed diſturbance by telling them, that though they pleaſed themſelves with the dream of liberty, in fact they were robbed of their country and religion; and, inſtead of many good and native kings, were lorded over by one man, who was a new-comer and a ſtranger. Whilſt he was thus buſily employed, the war declared by the Tyndaridæ greatly helped forward the ſedition. Some ſay plainly, they were invited by Meneſtheus to invade the country. At firſt they proceeded not in a hoſtile manner, only demanding their ſiſter: but the Athenians anſwering, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where ſhe was left, they began their warlike operations. Academus, however, finding it out by ſome means or other, told them ſhe was concealed at Aphidnæ. Hence, not only the Tyndaridæ treated him honourably in his life-time, but the Lacedemonians, who, in after times, often made inroads into Attica, and laid waſte all the country beſides, ſpared the Academy for his ſake. But Dicæarchus ſays, that Echedemus and Marathus, two Arcadians, being allies to the Tyndaridæ in that war, the place which now goes by the name of the Academy, was firſt called Echedemy, from one of them; and that from the other the diſtrict of Marathon had its name, becauſe he freely offered himſelf, in purſuance of ſome oracle, to be ſacrificed at the head of the army. To Aphidnæ then they came, where they beat the enemy in a ſet battle, and then took the city, and razed it to the ground. There, they tell us, Alycus, the ſon of Sciron, was ſlain, fighting for Caſtor and Pollux; and that a certain place, within the territories of Megara, is called Alycus, from his being buried there: and Hereas writes, that Alycus received his death from Theſeus's own hand. Theſe verſes alſo are alleged as a proof in point:

> For bright-hair'd Helen he was ſlain
> By Theſeus, on Aphidna's plain.

But it is not probable that Aphidnæ would have been taken, and his mother made priſoner, had Theſeus been preſent.

Aphidnæ, however, was taken, and Athens in danger. Meneſtheus took this opportunity to perſuade the people to admit the Tyndaridæ into the city, and to treat them

hospitably, since they only levied war against Theseus, who began with violence first, but that they were benefactors and deliverers to the rest of the Athenians. Their behaviour also confirmed what was said; for, though conquerors, they desired nothing but to be admitted to the mysteries, to which they had no less claim than Hercules *, since they were equally allied to the city. This request was easily granted them, and they were adopted by Aphidnus, as Hercules was by Pylius. They had also divine honours paid them, with the title of Anakes, which was given them, either on account of the truce [*anoche*] which they made, or because of their great care that no one should be injured, though there were so many troops in the city; for the phrase *anakôs echein* signifies to keep or take care of any thing; and for this reason, perhaps, kings are called Anaktes. Some again say, they were called Anakes, because of the appearance of their stars; for the Athenians use the words *anekas* and *anekathen*, instead of *ano* and *anothen*, that is, *above* or *on high*.

We are told that Æthra, the mother of Theseus, who was now a prisoner, was carried to Lacedæmon, and from thence, with Helen, to Troy; and that Homer confirms it when, speaking of those that waited upon Helen, he mentions

——— ——— ———The beauteous Clymene,
And Æthra born of Pittheus.

Others reject this verse as none of Homer's as they do also the story of Munychus, who is said to have been the fruit of a secret commerce between Demophoon and Laodice, and brought up by Æthra at Troy. But Ister, in the thirteenth book of his History of Attica gives an account of Æthra different from all the rest. He was informed it seems, that after the battle in which Alexander or Paris was routed by Achilles and Patroclus, in Thessaly near the river Sperchius, Hector took and plundered the city of Trœzene, and carried off Æthra, who had been left there. But this is highly improbable.

It happened that Hercules, in passing through the country of the Molossians, was entertained by Aïdoneus the

* For Castor and Pollux, like him, were sons of Jupiter, from whom the Athenians too pretended to derive their origin. It was necessary, however, that they should be naturalized before they were admitted to the mysteries, and accordingly they were naturalized by adoption.

the king, who accidentally made mention of the bold attempts of Thefeus and Pirithous, and of the manner in which he had punifhed them when difcovered. Hercules was much difturbed to hear of the inglorious death of the one, and the danger of the other. As to Pirithous, he thought it in vain to expoftulate about him; but he begged to have Thefeus releafed, and Aidoneus granted it. Thefeus, thus fet at liberty, returned to Athens, where his party was not yet entirely fuppreffed: and whatever temples and groves the city had affigned him, he confecrated them all, but four, to Hercules, and called them, (as Philochorus relates) inftead of Thefea, Heraclea. But defiring to prefide in the commonwealth, and direct it as before, he found himfelf encompaffed with faction and fedition; for thofe that were his enemies before his departure, had now added to their hatred a contempt of his authority; and he beheld the people fo generally corrupted, that they wanted to be flattered into their duty, inftead of filently executing his commands. When he attempted to reduce them by force, he was overpowered by the prevalence of faction; and, in the end, finding his affairs defperate, he privately fent his children into Eubœa, to Elephenor, the fon of Chalcodon; and himfelf, having uttered folemn execrations againft the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is ftill a place thence called Araterion, failed to Scyros *. He imagined that there he fhould find hofpitable treatment, as he had a paternal eftate in that ifland. Lycomedes was then king of the Scyrians. To him, therefore, he applied, and defired to be put in poffeffion of his lands, as intending to fettle there. Some fay, he afked affiftance of him againft the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either jealous of the glory of Thefeus, or willing to oblige Meneftheus, having led him to the higheft cliffs of the country, on pretence of fhewing him from thence his lands, threw him down headlong from the rocks, and killed him. Others fay he fell of himfelf, miffing his ftep, when he took a walk, according to his cuftom, after fupper. At that time his death was difregarded, and Meneftheus quietly poffeffed the kingdom of Athens, while the fons of Thefeus attended Elephenor, as private perfons to the Trojan war. But Meneftheus dying in the fame

* The ungrateful Athenians were in procefs of time made fo fenfible of the effects of his curfe, that, to appeafe his ghoft, they appointed folemn facrifices and divine honours to be paid to him.

ſame expedition, they returned and recovered the kingdom. In ſucceeding ages the Athenians honoured Theſeus as a demi-god, induced to it as well by other reaſons, as becauſe, when they were fighting the Medes at Marathon, a conſiderable part of the army thought they ſaw the apparition of Theſeus completely armed, and bearing down before them upon the barbarians.

After the Median war, when Phædon was archon *, the Athenians conſulting the Oracle of Apollo were ordered by the prieſteſs to take up the bones of Theſeus, and lay them in an honourable place at Athens, where they were to be kept with the greateſt care. But it was difficult to take them up, or even to find out the grave, on account of the ſavage and inhoſpitable diſpoſition of the barbarians who dwelt in Scyros. Nevertheleſs, Cimon having taken the iſland (as is related in his Life), and being very deſirous to find out the place where Theſeus was buried, by chance ſaw an eagle, on a certain eminence, breaking the ground, (as they tell us) and ſcratching it up with her talons. This he conſidered as a divine direction, and, digging there, found the coffin of a man of extraordinary ſize, with a lance of braſs and a ſword lying by it. When theſe remains were brought to Athens in Cimon's galley, the Athenians received them with ſplendid proceſſions and ſacrifices, and were as much tranſported as if Theſeus himſelf had returned to the city. He lies interred in the

* Codrus, the ſeventeenth king of Athens, cotemporary with Saul, devoted himſelf to death for the ſake of his country, in the year before Chriſt 1068; having learnt that the Oracle had promiſed its enemies, the Dorians and the Heraclidæ, victory, if they did nor kill the king of the Athenians. His ſubjects, on this account, conceived ſuch veneration for him, that they eſteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of the ſtate to elective magiſtrates, to whom they gave the title of archons, and choſe Medon, the eldeſt ſon of Codrus, to this new dignity. Thus ended the legal ſucceſſion and title of kings of Athens, after it had continued, without any interruption, 487 years, from Cecrops to Codrus. The archon acted with ſovereign authority, but was accountable to the people whenever it was required. There were thirteen perpetual archons in the ſpace of 325 years. After the death of Alcmæon, who was the laſt of them, this charge was continued to the perſon elected for ten years only; but always in the ſame family, till the death of Eryxias, or, according to others, of Tleſias, the ſeventh and laſt decennial archon. For the family of Codrus, or of the Medontidæ, ending in him, the Athenians created annual archons, and, inſtead of one, they appointed nine every year. See a farther account of the archons in the Notes on the Life of Solon.

middle of the town, near the Gymnasium: and his oratory is a place of refuge for servants and all persons of mean condition, who fly from men in power, as Theseus, while he lived, was a humane and benevolent patron, who graciously received the petitions of the poor. The chief sacrifice is offered to him on the eighth of October, the day on which he returned with the young men from Crete. They sacrifice to him likewise on each eighth day of the other months, either because he first arrived from Trœzene on the eighth of July, as Diodorus the geographer relates; or else thinking this number, above all others, to be most proper to him, because he was said to be the son of Neptune; the solemn feasts of Neptune being observed on the eighth day of every month. For the number eight, as the first cube of an even number, and the double of the first square, properly represents the firmness and immoveable power of this god, who thence has the names of Asphalius and Gaiëochus.

ROMULUS.

FROM whom, and for what cause, the city of Rome obtained that name, whose glory has diffused itself over the world, historians are not agreed *. Some say the Pelasgi, after they had over-run great part of the globe, and conquered many nations, settled there, and gave their city the name of Rome †, on account of their strength in war. Others tell us, that when Troy was taken, some of the Trojans having escaped and gained their ships, put to sea, and being driven by the winds upon the coasts of Tuscany, came to an anchor in the river Tiber: that here, their wives being much fatigued, and no longer able to bear the hardships of the sea, one of them, superior

* Such is the uncertainty of the origin of imperial Rome, and indeed of most cities and nations, that are of any considerable antiquity. That of Rome might be the more uncertain, because its first inhabitants, being a collection of mean persons, fugitives, and outlaws, from other nations, could not be supposed to leave histories behind them. Livy, however, and most of the Latin historians, agree that Rome was built by Romulus, and both the city and people named after him; while the vanity of the Greek writers wants to ascribe almost every thing, and Rome among the rest, to a Grecian original.

† Ῥωμη, *Romo*, signifies *strength*.

rior to the reſt in birth and prudence, named Roma, propoſed that they ſhould burn the fleet: that this being effected, the men at firſt were much exaſperated, but afterwards, through neceſſity, fixed their ſeat on the Palatine hill, and in a ſhort time things ſucceeded beyond their expectation; for the country was good *, and the people hoſpitable: that therefore, beſides other honours paid to Roma, they called their city, as ſhe was the cauſe of its being built, after her name. Hence too, we are informed, the cuſtom aroſe for the women to ſalute their relations and huſbands with a kiſs, becauſe thoſe women, when they had burnt the ſhips, uſed ſuch kind of endearments to appeaſe the reſentment of their huſbands.

Among the various accounts of hiſtorians, it is ſaid that Roma was the daughter of Italus and Leucaria; or elſe the daughter of Telephus the ſon of Hercules, and married to Æneas; or that ſhe was the daughter of Aſcanius †, the ſon of Æneas; and gave name to the city; or that Romanus, the ſon of Ulyſſes and Circe, built it; or Romus, the ſon of Æmathion, whom Diomedes ſent from Troy; or elſe Romus, king of the Latins, after he had expelled the Tuſcans, who paſſed originally from Theſſaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Even they who, with the greateſt probability, declare that the city had its name from Romulus, do not agree about his extraction: for ſome ſay he was ſon of Æneas and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus, and was brought an infant into Italy with his brother Remus: that all the other veſſels were loſt by the violence of the flood, except that in which the children were, which driving gently aſhore where the bank was level, they were ſaved beyond expectation, and the place from them was called Rome. Some will have it, that Roma, daughter of that Trojan woman who was married to Latinus, the ſon of Telemachus, was mother to Romulus. Others ſay that Æmilia the daughter of Æneas and Lavinia, had him by Mars: and others again give an account of his birth, which is entirely fabulous.

There

* Whatever deſirable things Nature has ſcattered frugally in other countries were formerly found in Italy, as in their original ſeminary. But there has been ſo little encouragement given to the cultivation of the ſoil in the time of the pontiffs, that it is now comparatively barren.

† Οἱ δ' Ἀσκανιȣ, τȣ Αἰνειȣ [θυγατερα ſc.] λεγȣσι γενομενην θεσθαι τῃ πολει. The former Engliſh tranſlation and the French in this place are erroneous.

There appeared, it ſeems to Tarchetius king of the Albans, who was the moſt wicked and moſt cruel of men, a ſupernatural viſion in his own houſe, the figure of Priapus riſing out of the chimney-hearth, and ſtaying there many days. The goddeſs Tethys had an oracle in Tuſcany *, which being conſulted, gave this anſwer to Tarchetius, That it was neceſſary ſome virgin ſhould accept of the embraces of the phantom, the fruit whereof would be a ſon, eminent for valour, good fortune, and ſtrength of body. Hereupon Tarchetius acquainted one of his daughters with the prediction, and ordered her to entertain the apparition; but ſhe declining it, ſent her maid. When Tarchetius came to know it, he was highly offended, and confined them both, intending to put them to death. But Veſta appeared to him in a dream, and forbad him to kill them; but ordered that the young women ſhould weave a certain web in their fetters, and when that was done, be given in marriage. They weaved, therefore, in the day-time; but others, by Tarchetius's order, unravelled it in the night. The woman having twins by this commerce, Tarchetius delivered them to one Teratius, with orders to deſtroy them. But, inſtead of that, he expoſed them by a river-ſide, where a ſhe-wolf came and gave them ſuck, and various ſorts of birds brought food and fed the infants, till at laſt a herdſman, who beheld theſe wonderful things, ventured to approach and take up the children. Thus ſecured from danger, they grew up, and then attacked Tarchetius, and overcame him. This is the account Promathion gives in his Hiſtory of Italy.

But the principal parts of that account, which deſerves the moſt credit, and has the moſt vouchers, were firſt publiſhed among the Greeks by Diocles the Peparethian, whom Fabius Pictor commonly follows; and though there are different relations of the matter, yet, to deſpatch it in a few words, the ſtory is this: The kings of Alba * deſcending

* There was no oracle of Tethys, but of Themis there was. Themis was the ſame with Carmenta, the mother of Evander, which laſt name ſhe had, becauſe ſhe delivered her oracles *in carmine*, in verſes.

† From Æneas down to Numitor and Amulius, there were thirteen kings of the ſame race, but we ſcarce know any thing of them, except their names, and the years of their reſpective reigns. Amulius, the laſt of them, who ſurpaſſed his brother in courage and underſtanding, drove him from the throne, and, to ſecure it for himſelf, murdered Ægeſtus, Numitor's only ſon, and conſecrated his daughter Rhea Sylvia to the worſhip of Veſta.

ſcending lineally from Æneas, the ſucceſſion fell to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. The latter divided the whole inheritance into two parts, ſetting the treaſures brought from Troy againſt the kingdom; and Numitor made choice of the kingdom. Amulius then having the treaſures, and conſequently being more powerful than Numitor, eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom too; and fearing the daughter of Numitor might have children, he appointed her prieſteſs of Veſta, in which capacity ſhe was always to live unmarried, and a virgin. Some ſay her name was Ilia, ſome Rhea, and others Sylvia. But ſhe was ſoon diſcovered to be with child, contrary to the law of the veſtals. Antho, the king's daughter, by much entreaty, prevailed with her father that ſhe ſhould not be capitally puniſhed. She was confined, however, and excluded from ſociety, leſt ſhe ſhould be delivered without Amulius's knowledge. When her time was completed, ſhe was delivered of two ſons of uncommon ſize and beauty; whereupon Amulius, ſtill more alarmed, ordered one of his ſervants to deſtroy them. Some ſay the name of this ſervant was Fauſtulus: others, that that was the name of a perſon that took them up. Purſuant to his orders, he put the children into a ſmall trough or cradle, and went down towards the river, with a deſign to caſt them in; but ſeeing it very rough, and running with a ſtrong current, he was afraid to approach it. He therefore laid them down near the bank, and departed. The flood increaſing continually ſet the trough afloat, and carried it gently down to a pleaſant place now called Cermanum, but formerly (as it ſhould ſeem) Germanum, denoting that the brothers arrived there.

Near this place was a wild fig-tree, which they called Ruminalis, either on account of Romulus, as is generally ſuppoſed, or becauſe the cattle there ruminated, or chewed the cud, during the noon-tide, in the ſhade; or rather becauſe of the ſuckling of the children there; for the ancient Latins called the breaſt *ruma*, and the goddeſs who preſides over the nurſery Rumilia *, whoſe rites they celebrate without wine, and only with libations of milk. The infants, as the ſtory goes, lying there, were ſuckled by a ſhe-wolf, and fed and taken care of by a woodpecker. Theſe animals are ſacred to Mars; and the woodpecker

* The Romans called that goddeſs not Rumilia, but Rumina.

pecker is held in great honour and veneration by the Latins. Such wonderful events contributed not a little to gain credit to the mother's report, that ſhe had the children by Mars; though in this they tell us ſhe was herſelf deceived, having ſuffered violence from Amulius, who came to her, and lay with her in armour. Some ſay, the ambiguity of the nurſe's name gave occaſion to the fable; for the Latins call not only ſhe-wolves but proſtitutes *lupæ*; and ſuch was Acca Larentia, the wife of Fauſtulus, the foſter-father of the children. To her alſo the Romans offer ſacrifice, and the prieſt of Mars honours her with libations in the month of April when they celebrate her feaſt Larentialia.

They worſhip alſo another Larentia on the following account. The keeper of the temple of Hercules, having, it ſeems, little elſe to do, propoſed to play a game at dice with the god, on condition that, if he won, he ſhould have ſomething valuable of that deity; but if he loſt, he ſhould provide a noble entertainment for him, and a beautiful woman to lie with him. Then throwing the dice, firſt for the god, and next for himſelf, it appeared that he had loſt. Willing, however, to ſtand to his bargain, and to perform the conditions agreed upon, he prepared a ſupper, and engaging for the purpoſe one Larentia, who was very handſome, but as yet little known, he treated her in the temple, where he had provided a bed, and after ſupper, left her for the enjoyment of the god. It is ſaid, that the deity had ſome converſation with her, and ordered her to go early in the morning to the market-place, ſalute the firſt man ſhe ſhould meet, and make him her friend. The man that met her was one far advanced in years, and in opulent circumſtances, Tarrutius by name, who had no children, and never had been married. This man took Larentia to his bed, and loved her ſo well, that at his death he left her heir to his whole eſtate, which was very conſiderable; and ſhe afterwards bequeathed the greateſt part of it by will to the people. It is ſaid, that at the time when ſhe was in high reputation, and conſidered as the favourite of a god, ſhe ſuddenly diſappeared about the place where the former Larentia was laid. It is now called Velabrum, becauſe the river often overflowing, they paſſed it at this place, in ferry-boats, to go to the Forum. This kind of paſſage they call *velatura*. Others derive the

name

name from *velum*, a ſail, becauſe they who have the exhibiting of the public ſhews, beginning at Velabrum, overſhade all the way that leads from the Forum to the Hippodrome with canvas; for a ſail in Latin is *velum*. On theſe accounts is the ſecond Larentia ſo much honoured among the Romans.

In the mean time Fauſtulus, Amulius's herdſman, brought up the children entirely undiſcovered; or rather, as others with greater probability aſſert, Numitor knew it from the firſt *, and privately ſupplied the neceſſaries for their maintenance. It is alſo ſaid that they were ſent to Gabii, and there inſtructed in letters, and other branches of education ſuitable to their birth: and hiſtory informs us, that they had the names of Romulus and Remus, from the teat of the wild animal which they were ſeen to ſuck. The beauty and dignity of their perſons, even in their childhood, promiſed a generous diſpoſition; and as they grew up, they both diſcovered great courage and bravery, with an inclination to hazardous attempts, and a ſpirit which nothing could ſubdue. But Romulus ſeemed more to cultivate the powers of reaſon, and to excel in political knowledge; whilſt, by his deportment among his neighbours in the employments of paſturage and hunting, he convinced them that he was born to command rather than to obey. To their equals and inferiors they behaved very courteouſly; but they deſpiſed the king's bailiffs and chief herdſmen, as not ſuperior to themſelves in courage, though they were in authority, diſregarding at once their threats and their anger. They applied themſelves to generous exerciſes and purſuits, looking upon idleneſs and inactivity as illiberal things, but on hunting, running, baniſhing or apprehending robbers, and delivering ſuch as were oppreſſed by violence, as the employments of honour and virtue. By theſe things they gained great renown.

A diſpute ariſing between the herdſmen of Numitor and Amulius, and the former having driven away ſome cattle belonging to the latter, Romulus and Remus fell upon them, put them to flight, and recovered the greateſt part

* Numitor might build upon this the hopes of his re-eſtabliſhment; but his knowing the place were the children were brought up, and ſupplying them with neceſſaries, is quite inconſiſtent with the manner of their diſcovery when grown up, which is the moſt agreeable part of the ſtory.

part of the booty. At this conduct Numitor was highly offended; but they little regarded his resentment. The first steps they took on this occasion, were to collect, and receive into their company, persons of desperate fortunes, and a great number of slaves; a measure which gave alarming proofs of their bold and seditious inclinations. It happened that when Romulus was employed in sacrificing, for to that and divination he was much inclined, Numitor's herdsmen met with Remus, as he was walking with a small retinue, and fell upon him. After some blows exchanged, and wounds given and received, Numitor's people prevailed, and took Remus prisoner. He was carried before Numitor, and had several things laid to his charge; but Numitor did not choose to punish him himself, for fear of his brother's resentment. To him, therefore, he applied for justice, which he had all the reason in the world to expect; since, though brother to the reigning prince, he had been injured by his servants, who presumed upon his authority. The people of Alba, morover, expressing their uneasiness, and thinking that Numitor suffered great indignities, Amulius moved with their complaints, delivered Remus to him to be treated as he should think proper. When the youth was conducted to his house, Numitor was greatly struck with his appearance, as he was very remarkable for size and strength; he observed, too, his presence of mind, and the steadiness of his looks, which had nothing servile in them, nor were altered with the sense of his present danger; and he was informed, that his actions and whole behaviour were suitable to what he saw. But above all, some divine influence, as it seems, directing the beginnings of the great events that were to follow, Numitor, by his sagacity, or by a fortunate conjecture, suspecting the truth, questioned him concerning the circumstances of his birth; speaking mildly at the same time, and regarding him with a gracious eye. He boldly answered, "I will hide nothing from you, for you behave "in a more princely manner than Amulius, since you "hear and examine before you punish: but he has de- "livered us up without inquiring into the matter. I "have a twin-brother, and heretofore we believed our- "selves the sons of Faustulus and Larentia, servants to "the king. But since we were accused before you, and "so pursued by slander as to be in danger of our lives, "we hear nobler things concerning our birth. Whether "they

" they are true, the present crisis will shew *. Our birth " is said to have been secret; our support in our infancy " miraculous. We were exposed to birds and wild " beasts, and by them nourished; suckled by a she-wolf, " and fed by the attentions of a wood-pecker, as we lay " in a trough by the great river. The trough is still pre- " served, bound about with brass bands, and inscribed " with letters partly faded; which may prove, perhaps, " hereafter very useless tokens to our parents, when we " are destroyed." Numitor hearing this, and comparing the time with the young man's looks, was confirmed in the pleasing hope he had conceived, and considered how he might consult his daughter about this affair; for she was still kept in close custody.

Mean while Faustulus, having heard that Remus was taken and delivered up to punishment, desired Romulus to assist his brother, informing him then clearly of the particulars of his birth; for before he had only given dark hints about it, and signified just so much as might take off the attention of his wards from every thing that was mean. He himself took the trough, and in all the tumult of concern and fear carried it to Numitor. His disorder raised some suspicion in the king's guards at the gate, and that disorder increasing while they looked earnestly upon him, and perplexed him with their questions, he was discovered to have a trough under his cloak There happened to be among them one of those who had it in charge to throw the children into the river, and who was concerned in the exposing of them. This man seeing the trough, and knowing it by its make and inscription, rightly guessed the business; and thinking it an affair not to be neglected, immediately acquainted the king with it, and put him upon inquiring into it. In these great and pressing difficulties, Faustulus did not preserve entirely his presence of mind, nor yet fully discover the matter. He acknowledged that the children were saved indeed, but said that they kept cattle at a great distance from Alba; and that he was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often desired to see it, that she might entertain the better hopes that her children were alive. Whatever persons perplexed and actuated with fear

* For if they were true, the god who miraculously protected them in their infancy, would deliver Remus from his present danger.

fear or anger uſe to ſuffer, Amulius then ſuffered; for in his hurry he ſent an honeſt man, a friend of Numitor's, to inquire of him whether he had any account that the children were alive. When the man was come, and ſaw Remus almoſt in the embraces of Numitor, he endeavoured to confirm him in the perſuaſion that the youth was really his grandſon; begging him, at the ſame time, immediately to take the beſt meaſures that could be thought of, and offering his beſt aſſiſtance to ſupport their party. The occaſion admitted of no delay, if they had been inclined to it; for Romulus was now at hand, and a good number of the citizens were gathered about him, either out of hatred or fear of Amulius. He brought alſo a conſiderable force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men each, headed by an officer who bore a handful of graſs and ſhrubs upon a pole. Theſe the Latins call *Manipuli;* and hence it is, that to this day ſoldiers of the ſame company are called Manipulares. Remus then, having gained thoſe within, and Romulus aſſaulting the palace without, the tyrant knew not what to do, or whom he ſhould conſult, but amidſt his doubts and perplexity, was taken and ſlain. Theſe particulars, though moſtly related by Fabius, and Diocles the Peparethian, who ſeems to have been the firſt that wrote about the founding of Rome, are yet ſuſpected by ſome as fabulous and groundleſs. Perhaps, however, we ſhould not be ſo incredulous, when we ſee what extraordinary events Fortune produces; nor, when we conſider what height of greatneſs Rome attained to, can we think it could ever have been effected without ſome ſupernatural aſſiſtance at firſt, and an origin more than human.

Amulius being dead, and the troubles compoſed, the two brothers were not willing to live in Alba, without governing there; nor yet to take the government upon them during their grandfather's life. Having, therefore, inveſted him with it, and paid due honours to their mother, they determined to dwell in a city of their own, and, for that purpoſe, to build one in the place where they had their firſt nouriſhment. This ſeems, at leaſt, to be the moſt plauſible reaſon of their quitting Alba; and perhaps too it was neceſſary, as a great number of ſlaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to ſee their affairs entirely ruined, if theſe ſhould diſperſe, or with them to ſeek another habitation; for that the people of

Alba

Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens, sufficiently appears from the rape of the women, which was not undertaken out of a licentious humour, but deliberately, and through necessity, from the want of wives; since, after they seized them, they treated them very honourably.

As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, they opened a place of refuge for fugitives, which they called the Temple of the Asylæan God *. Here they received all that came, and would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate; declaring, that they were directed by the oracle of Apollo to preserve the asylum from all violation. Thus the city was soon peopled †; for it is said, that the houses at first did not exceed a thousand. But of that hereafter.

While they were intent upon building, a dispute soon arose about the place. Romulus having built a square, which he called Rome, would have the city there; but Remus marked out a more secure situation on Mount Aventine, which, from him, was called Remonium ‡, but now has the name of Rignarium. The dispute was referred to the decision of augury; and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus, as they tell us, saw six vultures, and Romulus twice as many. Some say, Remus's account of the number he had seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but when Remus came up to him, he did really see twelve. Hence the Romans, in their divination by the flight of birds, chiefly regard the vulture: though Herodorus of Pontus relates, that Hercules

* It is not certain who this God of Refuge was. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that, in his time, the place where the asylum had been, was consecrated to Jupiter. Romulus did not at first receive the fugitives and outlaws within the walls but allowed them the hill Saturnius, afterwards called Capitolinus, for their habitation.

† Most of the Trojans, of whom there still remained fifty families in Augustus's time, chose to follow the fortune of Romulus and Remus, as did also the inhabitants of Pallantium and Saturnia, two small towns.

‡ We find no mention either of Remonium or Rignarium in any other writer. An anonymous MS. reads Remoria: and Festus tells us (De Ling. Latin. lib. ii.) the summit of Mount Aventine was called Remuria, from the time Remus resolved to build the city there. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of mount Aventine and Remuria as two different places; and Stephanus will have Remuria to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.

cules used to rejoice when a vulture appeared to him, as he was going upon any great action. This was, probably, because it is a creature the least mischievous of any, pernicious neither to corn, plants, nor cattle. It only feeds upon dead carcases; but neither kills nor preys upon any thing that has life. As for birds, it does not touch them even when dead, because they are of its own nature; while eagles, owls, and hawks, tear and kill their own kind; and, as Æschylus has it,

What bird is clean that fellow-birds devours?

Besides, other birds are frequently seen, and may be found at any time; but a vulture is an uncommon sight, and we have seldom met with any of their young; so that the rarity of them has occasioned an absurd opinion in some, that they come to us from other countries; and soothsayers judge every unusual appearance to be preternatural, and the effect of a divine power.

When Remus knew that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed, and as Romulus was opening a ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, as he presumed to leap over it, some say he fell by the hand of Romulus *; others, by that of Celer, one of his companions. Faustulus also fell in the scuffle; and Plistinus, who, being brother to Faustulus, is said to have assisted in bringing Romulus up. Celer fled into Tuscany; and from him such as are swift of foot, or expeditious in business, are by the Romans called *celeres*. Thus when Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, provided a shew of gladiators, the people admiring his quick despatch, gave him the name of Celer.

Romulus

* The two brothers first differed about the place where their new city was to be built, and referring the matter to their grandfather, he advised them to have it decided by augury. In this augury Romulus imposed upon Remus; and when the former prevailed that the city should be built upon Mount Palatine, the builders being divided into two companies, were no better than two factions. At last Remus in contempt leapt over the work, and said, "Just so will the "enemy leap over it:" whereupon Celer gave him a deadly blow, and answered, "In this manner will our citizens repulse the enemy." Some say, that Romulus was so afflicted at the death of his brother, that he would have laid violent hands upon himself, if he had not been prevented.

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his fofter-fathers, in Remonia, and then built his city, having fent for perfons from Hetruria *, who, (as is ufual in facred myfteries) according to ftated ceremonies and written rules, were to order and direct how every thing was to be done. Firft, a circular ditch was dug about what is now called the Comitium, or Hall of Juftice, and the firft fruits of every thing that is reckoned either good by ufe, or neceffary by nature, were caft into it; and then each bringing a fmall quantity of the earth of the country from whence he came, threw it in promifcuoufly †. This ditch had the name of Mundus, the fame with that of the univerfe. In the next place, they marked out the city, like a circle, round this centre; and the founder having fitted to a plough a brazen plough-fhare, and yoked a bull and cow, himfelf drew a deep furrow round the boundaries. The bufinefs of thofe that followed was to turn all the clods raifed by the plough inwards to the city, and not to fuffer any to remain outwards. This line defcribed the compafs of the city; and between it and the walls is a fpace called, by contraction, Pomerium, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Where they defigned to have a gate, they took the plough-fhare out of the ground, and lifted up the plough, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the whole wall as facred, except the gate-ways. If they confidered the gates in the fame light as the reft, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the neceffaries of life by them, or to carry out what is unclean.

The day on which they began to build the city, is univerfally allowed to be the twenty-firft of April; and is celebrated

* The Hetrurians or Tufcans had, as Feftus informs us, a fort of ritual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be obferved in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. They were inftructed in augury and religious rites by Tages, who is faid to have been taught by Mercury.

† Ovid does not fay it was a handful of the earth each had brought out of his own country, but of the earth he had taken from his neighbours; which was done to fignify, that Rome would foon fubdue the neighbouring nations. But Ifidorus (lib. xxv. cap. ii.) is of opinion, that by throwing the firft-fruits and an handful of earth into the trench, they admonifhed the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief ftudy to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union amongft a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this to form themfelves into a body never to be diffolved.

celebrated annually by the Romans as the birth-day of Rome. At firſt, we are told, they ſacrificed nothing that had life, perſuaded that they ought to keep the ſolemnity ſacred to the birth of their country pure, and without bloodſhed. Nevertheleſs, before the city was built, on that ſame day, they had kept a paſtoral feaſt called Palilia *. At preſent, indeed, there is very little analogy between the Roman and the Grecian months; yet the day on which Romulus founded the city, is ſtrongly affirmed to be the thirtieth of the month. On that day too, we are informed, there was a conjunction of the ſun and moon, attended with an eclipſe, the ſame that was obſerved by Antimachus the Teian poet, in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad.

Varro the philoſopher, who of all the Romans was moſt ſkilled in hiſtory, had an acquaintance named Tarutius, who, beſide his knowledge in philoſophy and the mathematics, to indulge his ſpeculative turn, had applied himſelf to aſtrology, and was thought to be a perfect maſter of it. To him Varro propoſed to find out the day and hour of Romulus's birth, making his calculation from the known events of his life, as problems in geometry are ſolved by the analytic method; for it belongs to the ſame ſcience, when a man's nativity is given, to predict his life, and when his life is given, to find out his nativity. Tarutius complied with the requeſt: and when he had conſidered the diſpoſition and actions of Romulus, how long he lived, and in what manner he died, and had put all theſe things together, he affirmed, without doubt or heſitation, that his conception was in the firſt year of the ſecond Olympiad, on the twenty-third day of the month which the Egyptians call Choeac [December], at the third hour, when the ſun was totally eclipſed †; and that his birth was on the twenty-third day

* The Palilia, or Feaſt of Pales, is ſometimes called Parilia, from the Latin word, *parere, to bring forth*, becauſe prayers were then made for the fruitfulneſs of the ſheep. According to Ovid (Faſt. lib. iv.) the ſhepherds then made a great feaſt at night, and concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of ſtraw.

† There was no total eclipſe of the ſun in the firſt year of the ſecond Olympiad, but in the ſecond year of that Olympiad there was. If Romulus was conceived in the year laſt named, it will agree with the common opinion, that he was 18 years old when he founded Rome, and that Rome was founded in the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad.

day of the month Thoth [September], about ſun-riſe; and that he founded Rome on the ninth of the month Pharmuthi [April], between the ſecond and third hour *; for it is ſuppoſed that the fortunes of cities, as well as men, have their proper periods determined by the poſitions of the ſtars at the time of their nativity. Theſe, and the like relations, may, perhaps, rather pleaſe the reader, becauſe they are curious, than diſguſt him, becauſe they are fabulous.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps conſiſted of three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and was called a legion, becauſe the moſt warlike perſons were ſelected. The reſt of the multitude he called The People. An hundred of the moſt conſiderable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians ‡, and the whole body was called the Senate, which ſignifies an Aſſembly of Old Men. Its members were ſtyled Patricians; becauſe, as ſome ſay, they were *fathers* of free-born children; or rather, according to others, becauſe they themſelves had fathers to ſhew, which was not the caſe

* There is great diſagreement among hiſtorians and chronologers, as to the year of the foundation of Rome. Varro places it in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad, 752 years before the Chriſtian Æra; and Fabius Pictor, who is the moſt ancient of all the Roman writers, and followed by the learned Uſher, places it in the end of the ſeventh Olympiad, which, according to that prelate, was in the year of the world 3256, and 748 before Chriſt. But Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, Solinus, and Euſebius place it in the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad.

† Inſtead of this, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus tells us (lib. ii. p. 76), the whole colony conſiſted of but 3300 men. Theſe Romulus divided into three equal parts, which he called tribes or thirds, each of which was to be commanded by its præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten curiæ, and theſe ſubdivided into ten decuriæ. The number of houſes, or rather huts, which was but a thouſand, bears witneſs to the truth of Dionyſius's aſſertion. But it is probable the mean rabble, who took the protection of the aſylum, and who might be very numerous, were not reckoned among the 3300 firſt coloniſts, though they were afterwards admitted to the privileges of citizens.

‡ The choice of theſe hundred perſons was not made by the king himſelf: each tribe choſe three ſenators, and each of the thirty curiæ the like number, which made in all the number of ninety-nine; ſo that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was the head, or prince of the ſenate, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field.

case with many of the rabble that first flocked to the city. Others derive the title from *Patrocinium*, or Patronage, attributing the origin of the term to one Patron, who came over with Evander, and was remarkable for his humanity and care of the distressed. But we shall be nearer the truth, if we conclude that Romulus styled them Patricians, as expecting these respectable persons would watch over those in humble stations with a paternal care and regard; and teaching the commonalty in their turn not to fear or envy the power of their superiors, but to behave to them with love and respect, both looking upon them as Fathers, and honouring them with that name. For at this very time, foreign nations call the Senators Lords, but the Romans themselves call them Conscript Fathers, a style of greater dignity and honour, and withal much less invidious. At first, indeed, they were called Fathers only; but afterwards, when more were enrolled in their body, Conscript Fathers. With this venerable title, then, he distinguished the senate from the people. He likewise made another distinction between the nobility and the commons, calling the former Patrons *, and the others Clients; which was the source of mutual kindness and many good offices between them. For the Patrons were to those they had taken under their protection, counsellors and advocates in their suits at law, and advisers and assistants on all occasions. On the other hand, the Clients failed not in their attentions, whether they were to be shewn in deference and respect, or in providing their daughters portions, or in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened to be narrow. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron to be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. But in after times, though the other claims continued in full force, it was

* This patronage was as effectual as any consanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining union among the people for the space of six hundred and twenty years, during which time we find no dissensions or jealousies between the patrons and their clients, even in the time of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied against those who were most powerful in the city. At last the great sedition, raised by Caius Gracchus, broke in upon that harmony. Indeed, a client who was wanting in his duty to his patron, was deemed a traitor and an outlaw, and liable to be put to death by any person whatever. It may be proper to observe, that not only plebeians chose their patrons, but in time cities and states put themselves under the like protection.

was looked upon as ungenerous for perſons of condition to take money of thoſe below them.

In the fourth month after the building of the city *, as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was put in execution. Some ſay, Romulus himſelf, who was naturally warlike, and perſuaded by certain oracles, that the Fates had decreed Rome to obtain her greatneſs by military achievements, began hoſtilities againſt the Sabines, and ſeized only thirty virgins, being more deſirous of war, than of wives for his people. But this is not likely. For, as he ſaw his city ſoon filled with inhabitants, very few of which were married, the greateſt part conſiſting of a mixed rabble of mean and obſcure perſons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were not expecting to ſettle in any place whatever, the enterprize naturally took that turn: and he hoped that from this attempt, though not a juſt one, ſome alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the women kindly. In order to this, he firſt gave out that he had found the altar of ſome god, which had been covered with earth. This deity they called Conſus, meaning either the God of Counſel, (for with them the word *conſilium* has that ſignification, and their chief magiſtrates afterwards were Conſuls, perſons who were to *conſult the public good)* or elſe the Equeſtrian Neptune; for the altar in the Circus Maximus * is not viſible at other times, but during the Circenſian games it is uncovered. Some ſay, it was proper that the altar of that god ſhould be under ground, becauſe counſel ſhould be as private and ſecret as poſſible. Upon this diſcovery, Romulus by proclamation appointed a day for a ſplendid ſacrifice, with public games and ſhews. Multitudes aſſembled at the time, and he himſelf preſided, ſitting among his nobles, clothed in purple. As a ſignal for the aſſault, he was to riſe, gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of his people wore ſwords that day, and kept their eyes upon him, watching for the ſignal, which was no ſooner given than they drew them, and ruſhing on with a ſhout, ſeized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly ſuffered the men to eſcape.

Some

* Gellius ſays, it was in the fourth year.

† That is to ſay, in the place where Ancus Martius afterwards built the great Circus for horſe and chariot-races.

Some ſay only thirty were carried off, who each gave name to a tribe; but Valerius Antias makes their number five hundred and twenty-ſeven; and, according to Juba *, there were ſix hundred and eighty-three, all virgins. This was the beſt apology for Romulus; for they had taken but one married woman, named Herſilia, who was afterwards chiefly concerned in reconciling them; and her they took by miſtake, as they were not incited to this violence by luſt or injuſtice, but by their deſire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the ſtrongeſt ties. Some tell us Herſilia was married to Hoſtilius, one of the moſt eminent men among the Romans; others, that Romulus himſelf married her, and had two children by her; a daughter named Prima, on account of her being firſt-born, and an only ſon, whom he called Aollius, becauſe of the great concourſe of people to him, but after-ages, Abillius. This account we have from Zenodotus of Trœzene, but he is contradicted in it by many other hiſtorians.

Among thoſe that committed this rape, we are told, ſome of the meaner ſort happened to be carrying off a virgin of uncommon beauty and ſtature; and when ſome of ſuperior rank that met them attempted to take her from them, they cried out, they were conducting her to Talaſius, a young man of excellent character. When they heard this, they applauded their deſign; and ſome even turned back and accompanied them with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, all the way exclaiming Talaſius. Hence this became a term in the nuptial ſongs of the Romans, as Hymenæus is in thoſe of the Greeks; for Talaſius is ſaid to have been very happy in marriage. But Sextius Sylla, the Carthaginian, a man beloved both by the Muſes and Graces, told me, that this was the word which Romulus gave as a ſignal for the rape. All of them, therefore, as they were carrying off the virgins, cried out Talaſius; and thence it ſtill continues the cuſtom at marriages. Moſt writers, however, and Juba in particular, are of opinion, that it is only an incitement to good houſewifry and ſpinning, which the word *Talaſia* ſignifies; Italian terms being at that time thus mixed with Greek.

* This was the ſon of Juba, king of Mauritania, who being brought very young a captive to Rome, was inſtructed in the Roman and Grecian literature, and became an excellent hiſtorian. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has followed his account.

Greek *. If this be right, and the Romans did then uſe the word *Talaſia* in the ſame ſenſe with the Greeks, another and more probable reaſon of the cuſtom may be aſſigned. For when the Sabines, after the war with the Romans, were reconciled, conditions were obtained for the

* The original, which runs thus, Οι δε πλειϛοι νομιζουσιν, ὧν καὶ ὁ Ιοϐας ηϛι, παρακλησιν ειναι εις φιλεργιαν καὶ ταλασιαν, επω τοτε τοῖς Ελληνικοις ονομασι των Ιταλικων επικεχυμενων, is manifeſtly corrupted; and all the former tranſlations, following corrupt reading, aſſert what is utterly falſe, namely, "that no Greek "terms were then mixed with the language of Italy." The contrary appears from Plutarch's life of Numa, where Greek terms are mentioned as frequently uſed by the Romans, των Ἑλληνικων ονοματων τοτε μαλλον η νυν τοῖς Λατινοις ανακεκρωμενων.

But not to have recourſe to facts, let us inquire into the ſeveral former tranſlations. The Latin runs thus: *Plerique (inter quos eſt Juba) adhortationem et incitationem ad laboris ſedulitatem et lanificium, quod Græci* ταλασιαν *dicunt, cenſent, nondum id temporis Italicis verbis cum Græcis confuſis.* The Engliſh thus: "But moſt are of opinion, "and Juba in particular, that this word *Talaſius* was uſed to new-"married women, by way of incitement to good houſewifry; for "the Greek word *Talaſia* ſignifies *ſpinning*, and the language of Italy "was not yet mixed with the Greek." The French of Dacier thus: "Cependant la plûpart des auteurs croient, et Juba eſt même de "cette opinion, que ce mot n'étoit qu'une exhortation qu'on faiſoit "aux mariées d'aimer le travail, qui conſiſte à filer de la laine, que "les Grecs appellent *Talaſia*; car en ce tems-là la langue Grecque "n'avoit pas encore été corrumpue par les mots Latins." Thus they declare with one conſent, that the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek; though it appears from what was ſaid immediately before, that *Talaſia*, a Greek term, was made uſe of in that language. Inſtead, therefore, of ουπω, *not yet*, we ſhould moſt certainly read ουτω, thus; ουτω τοτε τοις Ελληνικοις ονομασι των Ιταλικων επικεχυμενων, "the language of Italy being at that time "thus mixed with Greek terms; for inſtance, *Talaſia*." By this emendation, which conſiſts only of the ſmall alteration of the π into τ, the ſenſe is eaſy; the context clear; Plutarch is reconciled to himſelf, and freed from the charge of contradicting in one breath, what he had aſſerted in another.

If this wanted any farther ſupport, we might allege a paſſage from Plutarch's Marcellus, which, as well as that in the life of Numa, is expreſs and deciſive. Speaking there of the derivation of the word *Feretrius*, an appellation which Jupiter probably firſt had in the time of Romulus, on occaſion of his conſecrating to him the *ſpolia opima*: one account he gives of the matter is, that *Feretrius* might be derived from φερετρον, the vehicle on which the trophy was carried, κατα την Ἑλληνιδα γλωσσαν ετι πολλην τοτε συμμεμιγμενην τη Λατινων; "for at that time the Greek language was much mixt "with the Latin."

the women, that they ſhould not be obliged by their huſbands to do any other work beſides ſpinning. It was cuſtomary, therefore, ever after, that they who gave the bride, or conducted her home, or were preſent on the occaſion, ſhould cry out, amidſt the mirth of the wedding, *Talaſius;* intimating that ſhe was not to be employed in any labour but that of ſpinning. And it is a cuſtom ſtill obſerved, for the bride not to go over the threſhold of her huſband's houſe herſelf, but to be carried over, becauſe the Sabine virgins did not go in voluntarily, but were carried in by violence. Some add, that the bride's hair is parted with the point of a ſpear, in memory of the firſt marriages being brought about in a warlike manner; of which we have ſpoken more fully in the Book of Queſtions. This rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month then called Sextilis, now Auguſt, at which time the feaſt of the Conſualia is kept.

The Sabines were a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwalled towns; thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedemonians, to be bold and fearleſs. But as they ſaw themſelves bound by ſuch pledges, and were very ſolicitous for their daughters, they ſent ambaſſadors to Romulus with moderate and equitable demands: That he ſhould return them the young women, and diſavow the violence, and then the two nations ſhould proceed to eſtabliſh a correſpondence, and contract alliances in a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refuſed to part with the young women, and intreated the Sabines to give their ſanction to what had been done; whereupon ſome of them loſt time in conſulting and making preparations. But Acron, king of the Ceninenſians, a man of ſpirit, and an able general, ſuſpected the tendency of Romulus's firſt enterprizes; and, when he had behaved ſo boldly in the rape, looked upon him as one that would grow formidable, and indeed inſufferable to his neighbours, except he were chaſtiſed. Acron, therefore, went to ſeek the enemy, and Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in ſight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for ſingle combat was mutually given, their forces ſtanding under arms in ſilence. Romulus on this occaſion made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would himſelf dedicate his adverſary's arms to Jupiter: in conſequence of which, he both overcame Acron, and, after battle was joined,

routed his army, and took his city. But he did no injury to its inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses, and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest. Indeed, there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome, than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered. Romulus having considered how he should perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into the figure of a trophy; to this he fastened Acron's whole suit of armour, disposed in its proper form. Then he put on his own robes, and wearing a crown of laurel on his head, his hair gracefully flowing, he took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and so marched on, singing the song of victory before his troops, which followed, completely armed, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. This procession was the origin and model of future triumphs. The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, so called from the Latin word *ferire* *, to smite; for Romulus had prayed that he might have power to smite his adversary and kill him. Varro says, this sort of spoils is termed *opima* †, from *opes*, which signifies riches: But more probably they are so styled from *opus*, the meaning of which is action. For when the general of an army kills the enemy's general with his own hand, then only he is allowed to consecrate the spoils called *opima*, as the sole performer of that action ‡. This honour has been conferred only on three Roman chiefs; first,

* Or from the word *ferre*, to *carry*, because Romulus had himself carried to the temple of Jupiter, the armour of the king he had killed; or, more probably, from the Greek word *pheretron*, which Livy calls in Latin *ferculum*, and which properly signifies a *trophy*.

† Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima spolia*, according to that writer, signify rich spoils.

‡ This is Livy's account of the matter; but Varro, as quoted by Festus, tells us, a Roman might be entitled to the *spolia opima*, though but a private soldier, *miles manipularis* provided he killed and despoiled the enemy's general. Accordingly Cornelius Cossus had them, for killing Tolumnius, king of the Tuscans, though Cossus was but a tribune, who fought under the command of Æmilius. Cossus, therefore, in all probability, did not enter Rome in a triumphal chariot, but followed that of his general, with the trophy on his shoulder.

first, on Romulus, when he slew Acron the Ceninensian; next, on Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan; and lastly, on Claudius Marcellus, when Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, fell by his hand. Cossus and Marcellus bore, indeed, the trophies themselves, but drove into Rome in triumphal chariots. But Dionysius is mistaken in saying that Romulus made use of a chariot; for some historians assert, that Tarquinius, the son of Demaratus, was the first of the kings that advanced triumphs to this pomp and grandeur: Others say, Publicola was the first that led up his triumph in a chariot. However, there are statues of Romulus bearing these trophies, yet to be seen in Rome, which are all on foot.

After the defeat of the Ceninenses, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumenium, and Antemnæ, united against the Romans. A battle ensued, in which they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired, he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possession of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines, enraged at this, appointed Tatius their general, and carried war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the Capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeius, not by the virgin Tarpeia, as some say, who in this represent Romulus as a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia, the governor's daughter, charmed with the golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the fort into their hands; and asked, in return for her treason, what they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreeing to the condition, she opened one of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It seems, it was not the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who said, "He loved men while they "were betraying, but hated them when they had be-"trayed;" nor of Cæsar, who said, in the case of Rhymitalces the Thracian, "He loved the treason, but hated "the traitor:" But men are commonly affected towards villains, whom they have occasion for, just as they are towards venomous creatures, which they have need of for their poison and their gall. While they are of use they love them, but abhor them when their purpose is effected.

effected. Such were the sentiments of Tatius with regard to Tarpeia, when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left arms. He was the first to take off his bracelet, and throw it to her, and with that his shield *. As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, and, sinking under the weight, expired. Tarpeius, too, was taken, and condemned by Romulus for treason, as Juba writes after Sulpitius Galba. As for the account given of Tarpeia by other writers, among whom Antigonus is one, it is absurd and incredible: They say, that she was daughter to Tatius the Sabine general, and, being compelled to live with Romulus, she acted and suffered thus by her father's contrivance. But the poet Simulus makes a most egregious blunder, when he says, Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, having fallen in love with their king. Thus he writes:

From her high dome, Tarpeia, wretched maid,
To the fell Gauls the Capitol betray'd;
The hapless victim of unchaste desires,
She lost the fortress of her scepter'd sires.

And a little after, concerning her death,

No amorous Celt, no fierce Bavarian bore
The fair Tarpeia to his stormy shore;
Press'd by those shields, whose splendor she admir'd,
She sunk, and in the shining death expir'd.

From the place where Tarpeia was buried, the hill had the name of the Tarpeian, till Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter, at which time her bones were removed, and so it lost her name; except that part of the Capitol from which malefactors are thrown down, which is still called the Tarpeian rock. The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus in great fury offered them battle, which Tatius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to, in case he was worsted. And, indeed, the spot on which he was to engage, being surrounded with hills, seemed to promise on both sides a sharp and bloody contest, because it was so confined, and the

* Piso and other historians say, that Tatius treated her in this manner, because she acted a double part, and endeavoured to betray the Sabines to Romulus, while she was pretending to betray the Romans to them.

the outlets were so narrow, that it was not easy either to fly or to pursue. It happened too, that, a few days before, the river had overflowed, and left a deep mud on the plain, where the Forum now stands; which, as it was covered with a crust, was not easily discoverable by the eye, but at the same time was soft underneath and impracticable. The Sabines, ignorant of this, were pushing forward into it, but by good fortune were prevented: For Curtius, a man of high distinction and spirit, being mounted on a good horse, advanced a considerable way before the rest *. Presently his horse plunged into the slough, and for a while he endeavoured to disengage him, encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows; but finding all ineffectual, he quitted him, and saved himself. From him the place, to this very time, is called the Curtian Lake. The Sabines, having escaped this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The victory inclined to neither side, though many were slain, and among the rest Hostilius; who, they say, was husband to Hersilia, and grandfather to that Hostilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable, there were many other battles in a short time; but the most memorable was the last; in which Romulus having received a blow upon the head with a stone, was almost beaten down to the ground, and no longer able to oppose the enemy; then the Romans gave way, and were driven from the plain as far as the Palatine Hill. By this time Romulus recovering from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop his men in their flight, and loudly called upon them to stand and renew the engagement. But when he saw the rout

* Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus relate the matter otherwise. They tell us, that Curtius at first repulsed the Romans; but being in his turn overpowered by Romulus, and endeavouring to make good his retreat, he happened to fall into the lake, which from that time bore his name: For it was called Lacus Curtius, even when it was dried up, and almost in the centre of the Roman Forum. Procilius says, that the earth having opened, the Aruspices declared it necessary for the safety of the republic, that the bravest man in the city should throw himself into the gulph; whereupon one Curtius, mounting on horseback, leaped armed into it, and the gulph immediately closed. Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from Curtius the consul, colleague to M. Genucius, because he caused it to be walled in by the advice of the Aruspices, after it had been struck with lightening. Varro de Ling. Lat. l. iv.

rout was general, and that no one had courage to face about, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to ſtop the army, and to re-eſtabliſh and maintain the Roman cauſe, which was now in extreme danger. When the prayer was ended, many of the fugitives were ſtruck with reverence for their king, and their fear was changed into courage. They firſt ſtopped where now ſtands the temple of Jupiter Stator, ſo called from his putting a ſtop to their flight. There they engaged again, and repulſed the Sabines as far as the palace now called Regia, and the temple of Veſta.

When they were preparing here to renew the combat with the ſame animoſity as at firſt, their ardour was repreſſed by an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle, which the powers of language are unable to deſcribe. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been forcibly carried off, appeared ruſhing this way and that with loud cries and lamentations, like perſons diſtracted, amidſt the drawn ſwords, and over the dead bodies, to come at their huſbands and fathers; ſome carrying their infants in their arms, ſome darting forward with diſhevelled hair, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabines and the Romans, by the tendereſt names. Both parties were extremely moved, and room was made for them between the two armies. Their lamentations pierced to the utmoſt ranks, and all were deeply affected; particularly when their upbraiding and complaints ended in ſupplication and intreaty. "What great injury have we done you, ſaid they, that "we have ſuffered, and do ſtill ſuffer ſo many miſeries? "We were carried off, by thoſe who now have us, vio-"lently and illegally: After this violence we were ſo "long neglected by our brothers, our fathers, and rela-"tions, that we were neceſſitated to unite in the ſtrongeſt "ties with thoſe that were the objects of our hatred; "and we are now brought to tremble for the men that "had injured us ſo much, when we ſee them in danger, "and to lament them when they fall. For you came "not to deliver us from violence, while virgins, or to "avenge our cauſe, but now you tear the wives from "their huſbands, and the mothers from their children; "an aſſiſtance more grievous to us than all your neglect "and diſregard. Such love we experienced from them, "and ſuch compaſſion from you. Were the war under-"taken in ſome other cauſe, yet ſurely you would ſtop "its

"its ravages for us, who have made you fathers-in-law "and grandfathers, or otherwise placed you in some "near affinity to those whom you seek to destroy. But "if the war be for us, take us, with your sons-in-law "and their children, and restore us to our parents and "kindred; but do not, we beseech you, rob us of our "children and husbands, lest we become captives again." Hersilia having said a great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the same request, a truce was agreed upon, and the generals proceeded to a conference. In the mean time the women presented their husbands and children to their fathers and brothers, brought refreshments to those that wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured. Here they shewed them, that they had the ordering of their own houses, what attentions their husbands paid them, and with what respect and indulgence they were treated. Upon this a peace was concluded, the conditions of which were, that such of the women as chose to remain with their husbands, should be exempt from all labour and drudgery, except spinning, as we have mentioned above; that the city should be inhabited by the Romans and Sabines in common, with the name of Rome, from Romulus; but that all the citizens, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, and the country of Tatius, should be called Quirites *; and that the regal power, and the command of the army, should be equally shared between them. The place where these articles were ratified, is still called Comitium †, from the Latin word *coire*, which signifies *to assemble*.

The city having doubled the number of its inhabitants, an hundred additional senators were elected from among the Sabines, and the legions were to consist of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse ‡. The people, too,

* The word *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signified both a dart, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. It is uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but however that be, this god Quiris or Quirinus was either Mars, or some other god of war, and was worshipped in Rome till Romulus, who after his death was honoured with the name Quirinus, took his place.

† The Comitium was at the foot of the hill Palatinus, over-against the Capitol. Not far from thence the two kings built the temple of Vulcan, where they usually met to consult the senate about the most important affairs.

‡ Ruauld, in his animadversions upon Plutarch, has discovered two considerable errors in this place. The first is, that Plutarch affirms, there

too, were divided into three tribes, called Rhamnenſes, from Romulus; Tatienſes, from Tatius; and Lucerenſes, from the *Lucus* or Grove, where the aſylum ſtood, whither many had fled, and were admitted citizens. That they were preciſely three, appears from the very name of Tribes, and that of their chief officers, who were called Tribunes. Each tribe contained ten *Curiæ* or Wards, which ſome ſay were called after the Sabine women. But this ſeems to be falſe; for many of them have their names from the ſeveral quarters of the city which were aſſigned to them. Many honourable privileges, however, were conferred upon the women; ſome of which were theſe: That the men ſhould give them the way, wherever they met them; that they ſhould not mention an obſcene word, or appear naked, before them; that, in caſe of their killing any perſon, they ſhould not be tried before the ordinary judges; and that their children ſhould wear an ornament about their necks, called *Bulla* *, from its likeneſs to a bubble, and a garment bordered with purple. The two kings did not preſently unite their councils, each meeting, for ſome time, their hundred ſenators apart, but afterwards they all aſſembled together. Tatius dwelt where the temple of Moneta now ſtands, and Romulus by the ſteps of the fair Shore, as they are called, at the deſcent from the Palatine Hill to the Great Circus. There, we are told, grew the ſacred Cornel-tree, the fabulous

F 4

there were 600 horſe put by Romulus in every legion, whereas there never were, at any time, ſo many in any of the legions. For there were at firſt 200 horſe in each legion; after that, they roſe to 300, and at laſt to 400, but never came up to 600. In the ſecond place he tells us, that Romulus made the legion to conſiſt of 6000 foot; whereas in his time it was never more than 3000. It is ſaid by ſome, that Marius was the firſt who raiſed the legion to 6000; but Livy informs us, that that augmentation was made by Scipio Africanus, long before Marius. After the expulſion of the kings, it was augmented from three to four thouſand, and ſome time after to five, and at laſt by Scipio (as we have ſaid) to ſix. But this was never done, but upon preſſing occaſions. The ſtated force of a legion was 4000 foot, and 200 horſe.

* The young men, when they took upon them the *Toga virilis*, or man's robe, quitted the *Bulla*, which is ſuppoſed to have been a little hollow ball of gold, and made an offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, or houſehold gods. As to the *Prætexta*, or robe edged with purple, it was worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were ſeventeen. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of diſtinction for the children of the Sabine women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *Liberti*, or freed-men, wore it.

bulous account of which is, that Romulus once, to try his ſtrength, threw a ſpear, whoſe ſhaft was of cornel-wood, from Mount Aventine to that place; the head of which ſtuck ſo deep in the ground, that no one could pull it out, though many tried; and the ſoil being rich, ſo nouriſhed the wood, that it ſhot forth branches, and became a trunk of cornel of conſiderable bigneſs. This, poſterity preſerved with a religious care, as a thing eminently ſacred, and therefore built a wall about it: and when any one that approached it, ſaw it not very flouriſhing and green, but inclining to fade and wither, he preſently proclaimed it to all he met, who, as if they were to aſſiſt in caſe of fire, cried out for water, and ran from all quarters with full veſſels to the place. But when Caius Cæſar ordered the ſteps to be repaired, and the workmen were digging near it, it is ſaid they inadvertently injured the roots in ſuch a manner, that the tree withered away.

The Sabines received the Roman months. All that is of importance on this ſubject is mentioned in the life of Numa. Romulus on the other hand, came into the uſe of their ſhields, making an alteration in his own armour, and that of the Romans, who, before, wore buckles in the manner of the Greeks. They mutually celebrated each other's feaſts and ſacrifices, not aboliſhing thoſe of either nation, but over and above appointing ſome new ones; one of which is the Matronalia *, inſtituted in honour of the women, for their putting an end to the war; and another the Carmentalia †. Carmenta is by ſome ſuppoſed to be one of the Deſtinies, who preſides over human nativities; therefore ſhe is particularly worſhipped by mothers. Others ſay, ſhe was wife to Evander the Arcadian, and a woman addicted to

* During this feaſt, ſuch of the Roman women as were married, ſerved their ſlaves at table, and received preſents from their huſbands, as the huſbands did from their wives in the time of the Saturnalia. As the feſtival of the Matronalia was not only obſerved in honour of the Sabine women, but conſecrated to Mars; and, as ſome will have it, to Juno Lucina, ſacrifices were offered to both theſe deities. This feaſt was the ſubject of Horace's Ode; *Martiis cœlebs quid agam calendis*, &c. and Ovid deſcribes it at large in the 3d Book of Faſti. Dacier ſays, by miſtake, that this feaſt was kept on the firſt of April, inſtead of the firſt of March, and the former Engliſh annotator has followed him.

† This is a very ſolemn feaſt, kept on the 11th of January, under the Capitol, near the Carmental gate. They begged of this goddeſs to render their women fruitful, and to give them happy deliveries.

to divination, who received inspirations from Apollo, and delivered oracles in verse; thence called Carmenta, for *Carmina* signifies *verse;* but her proper name, as is agreed on all hands, was Nicostrata. Others, again, with greater probability assert, that the former name was given her, because she was distracted with enthusiastic fury; for *carere mente* signifies *to be insane.* Of the feast of Palilia, we have already given an account. As for the Lupercalia *, by the time, it should seem to be a feast of lustration; for it was celebrated on one of the inauspicious days of the month of February, which name denotes it to be the month of Purifying; and the day was formerly called Februata. But the true meaning of Lupercalia is the Feast of Wolves; and it seems, for that reason, to be very ancient, as received from the Arcadians, who came over with Evander. This is the general opinion. But the term may be derived from *Lupa,* a *she-wolf;* for we see the Luperci begin their course from the place where they say Romulus was exposed. However, if we consider the ceremonies, the reason of the name seems hard to guess: For first, goats are killed; then two noblemen's sons are introduced, and some are to stain their foreheads with a bloody knife, others to wipe off the stain directly, with wool steeped in milk, which they bring for that purpose. When it is wiped off, the young men are to laugh. After this they cut the goats' skins in pieces, and run about all naked, except their middle, and lash with those thongs all they meet. The young women avoid not the stroke, as they think it assists conception and child-birth. Another thing proper to this feast is, for the Luperci to sacrifice a dog. Butas, who in his elegies has given a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman institutions, writes, that when Romulus had overcome Amulius, in the transports of victory he ran with great speed to the place where the wolf suckled him and his brother, when infants; and that this feast is celebrated, and the young noblemen run, in imitation of that action, striking all that are in their way.

As the fam'd twins of Rome, Amulius slain,
From Alba pour'd, and with their reeking swords
Saluted all they met.———

* This festival was celebrated on the 11th of February, in honour of the God Pan.

And the touching of the forehead with a bloody knife, is a ſymbol of that ſlaughter and danger, as the wiping off the blood with milk is in memory of their firſt nouriſhment. But Caius Acilius relates, that before the building of Rome, Romulus and Remus having loſt their cattle, firſt prayed to Faunus for ſucceſs in the ſearch of them, and then ran out naked to ſeek them, that they might not be incommoded with ſweat; therefore the Luperci run about naked. As to the dog, if this be a feaſt of luſtration, we may ſuppoſe it is ſacrificed, in order to be uſed in purifying; for the Greeks in their purifications make uſe of dogs, and perform the ceremonies which they call *Periſkulakiſmoi*. But if theſe rites are obſerved in gratitude to the wolf that nouriſhed and preſerved Romulus, it is with propriety they kill a dog, becauſe it is an enemy to wolves: yet, perhaps, nothing more was meant by it than to puniſh that creature for diſturbing the Luperci in their running.

Romulus is likewiſe ſaid to have introduced the Sacred Fire, and to have appointed the holy virgins called Veſtals *. Others attribute this to Numa, but allow that Romulus was remarkably ſtrict in obſerving other religious rites, and ſkilled in divination, for which purpoſe he bore the *Lituus*. This is a crooked ſtaff, with which thoſe that ſit to obſerve the flight of birds *, deſcribe the ſeveral quarters of the heavens. It was kept in the Capitol, but loſt when Rome was taken by the Gauls; afterwards, when the barbarians had quitted it, it was found buried deep in aſhes, untouched by the fire, whilſt every thing about it was deſtroyed and conſumed. Romulus alſo enacted ſome laws; amongſt the reſt that ſevere one, which forbids the wife in any caſe to leave her huſband ‡, but gives the huſband power to divorce his wife, in caſe of her poiſoning his children, or counterfeiting

* Plutarch means that Romulus was the firſt who introduced the Sacred Fire at Rome. That there were Veſtal virgins, however, before this, at Alba, we are certain, becauſe the mother of Romulus was one of them. The ſacred and perpetual fire was not only kept up in Italy, but in Egypt, in Perſia, in Greece, and almoſt in all nations.

† The Augurs.

‡ Yet this privilege, which Plutarch thinks a hardſhip upon the women, was indulged the men by Moſes in greater latitude. The women, however, among the Romans, came at length to divorce their

feiting his keys, or being guilty of adultery. But if on any other occasion he put her away, she was to have one moiety of his goods, and the other was to be consecrated to Ceres; and whoever put away his wife was to make an atonement to the gods of the earth. It is something particular, that Romulus appointed no punishment for actual parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon this as abominable, and the other as impossible. For many ages, indeed, he seemed to have judged rightly; no one was guilty of that crime in Rome for almost six hundred years; and Lucius Ostius, after the wars of Hannibal, is recorded to have been the first that murdered his father.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some of his friends and kinsmen meeting certain ambassadors who were going from Laurentum to Rome *, attempted to rob them on the road, and, as they would not suffer it, but stood in their own defence, killed them. As this was an atrocious crime, Romulus required that those who committed it should immediately be punished, but Tatius hesitated and put it off. This was the first occasion of any open variance between them; for till now they had behaved themselves as if directed by one soul, and the administration had been carried on with all possible unanimity. The relations of those that were murdered, finding they could have no legal redress from Tatius, fell upon him and slew him at Lavinium, as he was offering sacrifice with Romulus †; but they conducted Romulus back with applause, as a prince who paid all proper regard to justice. To the body of Tatius he gave an honourable inter-

their husbands, as appears from Juvenal (Sat. 9.) and Marial (l. x. ep. 41.) At the same time it must be observed, to the honour of Roman virtue, that no divorce was known at Rome for five hundred and twenty years. One P. Servilius, or Carvilius Spurius, was the first of the Romans that ever put away his wife.

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they were ambassadors from Lavinium, who had been at Rome to complain of the incursions made by some of Tatius's friends upon their territories; and that as they were returning, the Sabines lay in wait for them on the road, stripped them, and killed several of them. Lavinium and Laurentum were neighbouring towns in Latium.

† Probably this was a sacrifice to the Dii Indigenes of Latium, in which Rome was included. But Licinius writes, that Tatius went not thither with Romulus, nor on account of the sacrifice, but that he went alone to persuade the inhabitants to pardon the murderers.

interment, at Armiluſtrium *, on Mount Aventine; but he took no care to revenge his death on the perſons that killed him. Some hiſtorians write, that the Laurentians in great terror gave up the murderers of Tatius; but Romulus let them go, ſaying, "Blood with blood "ſhould be repaid." This occaſioned a report, and indeed a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that he was not ſorry to get rid of his partner in the government. None of theſe things, however, occaſioned any diſturbance or ſedition among the Sabines; but partly out of regard for Romulus, partly out of fear of his power, or becauſe they reverenced him as a god, they all continued well affected to him. This veneration for him extended to many other nations. The ancient Latins ſent ambaſſadors, and entered into league and alliance with him. Fidenæ, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, he took, as ſome ſay, by ſending a body of horſe before, with orders to break the hinges of the gates, and then appearing unexpectedly in perſon. Others will have it, that the Fidenates firſt attacked and ravaged the Roman territories, and were carrying off conſiderable booty, when Romulus lay in ambuſh for them, cut many of them off, and took their city. He did not, however, demoliſh it, but made it a Roman colony, and ſent into it two thouſand five hundred inhabitants on the thirteenth of April.

After this, a plague broke out, ſo fatal, that people died of it without any previous ſickneſs; while the ſcarcity of fruits, and barrenneſs of the cattle, added to the calamity. It rained blood too in the city; ſo that their unavoidable ſufferings were increaſed with the terrors of ſuperſtition: and when the deſtruction ſpread itſelf to Laurentum, then all agreed, it was for neglecting to do juſtice on the murderers of the ambaſſadors and of Tatius, that the divine vengeance purſued both cities. Indeed, when thoſe murderers were given up and puniſhed by both parties, their calamities viſibly abated; and Romulus purified the city with luſtrations, which, they tell us, are yet celebrated at the Ferentine gate. Before the peſtilence ceaſed, the people of Cameria † attacked the Romans,

* The place was ſo called, becauſe of a ceremony of the ſame name, celebrated every year on the 19th of October, when the troops were muſtered, and purified by ſacrifices.

† This was a town which Romulus had taken before. Its old inhabitants took this opportunity to riſe in arms, and kill the Roman garriſon.

Romans, and over-ran the country, thinking them incapable of reſiſtance by reaſon of the ſickneſs. But Romulus ſoon met them in the field, gave them battle, in which he killed ſix thouſand of them, took their city, and tranſplanted half its remaining inhabitants to Rome; adding, on the firſt of Auguſt, to thoſe he left in Cameria, double their number from Rome. So many people had he to ſpare in about ſixteen years time from the building of the city. Among other ſpoils, he carried from Cameria a chariot of braſs, which he conſecrated in the temple of Vulcan, placing upon it his own ſtatue crowned by victory.

His affairs thus flouriſhing, the weaker part of his neighbours ſubmitted, ſatisfied, if they could but live in peace: but the more powerful, dreading or envying Romulus, thought they ſhould not by any means let him go unnoticed, but oppoſe and put a ſtop to his growing greatneſs. The Veientes, who had a ſtrong city and extenſive country *, were the firſt of the Tuſcans who began the war, demanding Fidenæ as their property. But it was not only unjuſt, but ridiculous, that they who had given the people of Fidenæ no aſſiſtance in the greateſt extremities, but had ſuffered them to periſh ſhould challenge their houſes and lands now in the poſſeſſion of other maſters. Romulus, therefore, gave them a contemptous anſwer; upon which they divided their forces into two bodies; one attacked the garriſon of Fidenæ, and the other went to meet Romulus. That which went againſt Fidenæ defeated the Romans, and killed two thouſand of them; but the other was beaten by Romulus, with the loſs of more than eight thouſand men. They gave battle, however, once more, at Fidenæ, where all allow the victory was chiefly owing to Romulus himſelf, whoſe ſkill and courage were then remarkably diſplayed, and whoſe ſtrength and ſwiftneſs appeared more than human. But what ſome report, is entirely fabulous, and utterly incredible, that there fell that day fourteen thouſand men, above half of whom Romulus ſlew with his own hand. For even the Meſſenians ſeem to have been extravagant in their boaſts, when they tell us Ariſtomenes offered a hecatomb three ſeveral times, for having as often

killed

* Veii, the capital of Tuſcany was ſituated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from Rome; and is compared by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus to Athens for extent and riches.

killed a hundred Lacedæmonians*. After the Veientes were thus ruined, Romulus ſuffered the ſcattered remains to eſcape, and marched directly to their city. The inhabitants could not bear up after ſo dreadful a blow, but humbly ſuing for a peace, obtained a truce for a hundred years, by giving up a conſiderable part of their territory called Septempagium, which ſignifies a diſtrict of ſeven towns, together with the ſalt-pits by the river; beſides which, they delivered into his hands fifty of their nobility as hoſtages. He triumphed for this on the fifteenth of October, leading up, among many other captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, who ſeemed on this occaſion not to have behaved with the prudence which might have been expected from his age. Hence it is that, to this day, when they offer a ſacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the Forum to the Capitol, in a boy's robe, edged with purple, with a bulla about his neck; and the herald cries "Sardians "to be ſold †;" for the Tuſcans are ſaid to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuſcany.

This was the laſt of the wars of Romulus. After this he behaved as almoſt all men do, who riſe by ſome great and unexpected good fortune to dignity and power; for, exalted with his exploits, and loftier in his ſentiments, he dropped his popular affability, and aſſumed the monarch to an odious degree. He gave the firſt offence by his dreſs; his habit being a purple veſt, over which he wore a robe bordered with purple. He gave audience in a chair of ſtate. He had always about him a number of young men called Celeres ‡, from their deſpatch in doing buſineſs; and before him went men with ſtaves to keep off the populace, who alſo wore thongs of leather at their girdles, ready to bind directly any perſon he ſhould order to

* Pauſanias confirms this account, mentioning both the time and place of theſe achievements, as well as the hecatombs offered, on account of them, to Jupiter Ithomates. Thoſe wars between the Meſſenians and Spartans were about the time of Tullus Hoſtilius.

† The Veientes, with the other Hetrurians, were a colony of Lydians, whoſe metropolis was the city of Sardis. Other writers date this cuſtom from the time of the conqueſt of Sardinia by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, when ſuch a number of ſlaves was brought from that iſland, that none were to be ſeen in the market but Sardinians.

‡ Romulus ordered the Curiæ to chooſe him a guard of three hundred men, ten out of each Curiæ; and theſe he called Celeres, for the reaſon which Plutarch has aſſigned.

to be bound. This binding the Latins formerly called *ligare* *, now *alligare:* whence thoſe ſerjeants are called *Lictores*, and their rods *faſces ;* for the ſticks they uſed on that occaſion were ſmall. Though, perhaps, at firſt they were called *Litores*, and afterwards, by putting in a *c*, *Lictores:* for they are the ſame that the Greeks called *Leitourgoi* (officers for the people); and *leitos*, in Greek, ſtill ſignifies the *people*, but *laos* the *populace*.

When his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, though the crown undoubtedly belonged to him, yet, to pleaſe the people, he left the adminiſtration in their own hands; and over the Sabines † (in Rome) he appointed yearly a particular magiſtrate: thus teaching the great men of Rome to ſeek a free common-wealth without a king, and by turns to rule and to obey. For now the patricians had no ſhare in the government, but only an honourable title and appearance, aſſembling in the Senate-houſe more for form than buſineſs. There, with ſilent attention, they heard the king give his orders, and differed only from the reſt of the people in this, that they went home with the firſt knowledge of what was determined. This treatment they digeſted as well as they could; but when, of his own authority, he divided the conquered lands among the ſoldiers, and reſtored the Veientes their hoſtages without the conſent or approbation of the ſenate, they conſidered it as an intolerable inſult. Hence aroſe ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt them, and Romulus ſoon after unaccountably diſappeared. This happened on the 7th of July (as it is now called) then *Quintilis:* and we have no certainty of any thing about it but the time; various ceremonies being ſtill performed on that day with reference to the event. Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, ſince, when Scipio Africanus was found dead in his houſe after ſupper ‡, there was no clear proof of the manner of

* Plutarch had no critical ſkill in the Latin language.

† Xylander and H. Stephanus are rationally enough of opinion, that inſtead of Sabines we ſhould read Albans; and ſo the Latin tranſlator renders it.

‡ This was Scipio, the ſon of Paulus Æmilius, adopted by Scipio Africanus. As he conſtantly oppoſed the deſigns of the Gracchi, it was ſuppoſed that his wife Sempronia, who was ſiſter to thoſe ſeditious men, took him off by poiſon. According to Valerius Maximus, no judicial inquiry was made into the cauſe of his death; and Victor tells us, the corpſe was carried out, with the face covered with a linen cloth, that the blackneſs of it might not appear.

his death: for ſome ſay, that being naturally infirm, he died ſuddenly; ſome, that he took poiſon; and others, that his enemies broke into his houſe by night, and ſtrangled him. Beſides, all were admitted to ſee Scipio's dead body, and every one, from the ſight of it, had his own ſuſpicion or opinion of the cauſe. But as Romulus diſappeared on a ſudden, and no part of his body or even his garments could be found, ſome conjectured, that the ſenators, who were convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and killed him; after which each carried a part away under his gown. Others ſay, that his exit did not happen in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the preſence of the ſenators only, but while he was holding an aſſembly of the people without the city, at a place called the Goat's-Marſh. The air on that occaſion was ſuddenly convulſed and altered in a wonderful manner; for the light of the ſun failed *, and they were involved in an aſtoniſhing darkneſs, attended on every ſide with dreadful thunderings, and tempeſtous winds. The multitude then diſperſed and fled, but the nobility gathered into one body. When the tempeſt was over, and the light appeared again, the people returned to the ſame place, and a very anxious inquiry was made for the king; but the patricians would not ſuffer them to look cloſely into the matter. They commanded them to honour and worſhip Romulus, who was caught up to heaven, and who, as he had been a gracious king, would be to the Romans a propitious deity. Upon this, the multitude went away with great ſatisfaction, and worſhipped him, in hopes of his favour and protection. Some, however, ſearching more minutely into the affair, gave the patricians no ſmall uneaſineſs; they even accuſed them of impoſing upon the people a ridiculous tale, when they had murdered the king with their own hands.

While things were in this diſorder, a ſenator, we are told, of great diſtinction, and famed for ſanctity of manners,

* Cicero mentions this remarkable darkneſs in a fragment of his ſixth book *de Repub.* And it appears from the aſtronomical tables, that there was a great eclipſe of the ſun in the firſt year of the ſixteenth Olympiad, ſuppoſed to be the year that Romulus died, on the twenty-ſixth of May, which, conſidering the little exactneſs there was then in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July.

ners, Julius Proculus by name *, who came from Alba with Romulus, and had been his faithful friend, went into the Forum, and declared upon the most solemn oaths, before all the people, that as he was travelling on the road, Romulus met him, in a form more noble and august than ever, and clad in bright and dazzling armour. Astonished at the sight, he said to him, "For what mis-"behaviour of ours, O king, or by what accident, have "you so untimely left us, to labour under the heaviest "calumnies, and the whole city to sink under inexpress-"ible sorrow?" To which he answered, "It pleased "the gods, my good Proculus, that we should dwell with "men for a time; and after having founded a city "which will be the most powerful and glorious in the "world, return to heaven, from whence we came. Fare-"wel then, and go, tell the Romans, that, by the exer-"cise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the "highest pitch of human greatness, and I, the god Qui-"rinus will ever be propitious to you." This, by the character and oath of the relator, gained credit with the Romans, who were caught with the enthusiasm, as if they had been actually inspired; and, far from contradicting what they had heard, bade adieu to all their suspicions of the nobility, united in the deifying of Quirinus, and addressed their devotions to him. This is very like the Grecian fables concerning Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes, the Astypalensian. For Aristeas, as they tell us, expired in a fuller's shop; and when his friends came to take away the body, it could not be found. Soon after, some persons coming in from a journey, said, they met Aristeas travelling towards Croton. As for Cleomedes, their account of him is, that he was a man of gigantic size and strength; but behaving in a foolish and frantic manner, he was guilty of many acts of violence. At last he went into a school, where he struck the pillar that supported the roof with his fist, and broke it asunder, so that the roof fell in and destroyed the children. Pursued for this, he took refuge in a great chest, and having shut the lid upon him, he held it down so fast, that many men together could not force it open: when they had cut the chest in pieces, they could not find him either dead or alive. Struck with this strange affair, they sent to consult

* A descendant of Julus or Ascanius.

consult the oracle at Delphi, and had from the priestess this answer,

> The race of heroes ends in Cleomedes.

It is likewise said, that the body of Alcmena was lost, as they were carrying it to the grave, and a stone was seen lying on the bier in its stead. Many such improbable tales are told by writers who wanted to deify beings naturally mortal. It is indeed impious and illiberal to leave nothing of divinity to virtue: but, at the same time, to unite heaven and earth in the same subject, is absurd. We should, therefore, reject fables, when we are possessed of undeniable truth; for, according to Pindar,

> The body yields to death's all-powerful summons,
> While the bright image of eternity
> Survives————————

This alone is from the gods: from heaven it comes, and to heaven it returns; not indeed with the body; but when it is entirely set free and separate from the body, when it becomes disengaged from every thing sensual and unholy. For in the language of Heraclitus, the pure soul is of superior excellence *, darting from the body like a flash of lightening from a cloud; but the soul that is carnal and immersed in sense †, like a heavy and dank vapour

* This is a very difficult passage. The former translator, with an unjustifiable liberty, has turned *αὔτη γαρ ψυχη ξηρη αριστη*, *A virtuous soul is pure and unmixed light*; which, however excellent the sentiment, as borrowed from the Scripture, where he had found that *God is light* is by no means the sense of the original.

Dacier has translated it literally *l'ame seche*, and remarks the propriety of the expression, with respect to that position of Heraclitus, that fire is the first principle of all things. The French critic went upon the supposed analogy between fire and dryness; but there is a much more natural and more obvious analogy, which may help us to the interpretation of this passage; that is, the near relation which dryness has to purity or cleanliness: and indeed we find the word ξηρος used metaphorically in the latter sense—*ξηροι τροποι*.

† Milton. in his Comus, uses the same comparison; for which, woever he is indebted rather to Plato than to Plutarch.

> ——————The lavish act of sin
> Lets in defilement to the inward parts.
> The soul grows clotted by contagion,
> Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
> The divine property of her first being.

Such

vapour, with difficulty is kindled and aspires. There is therefore no occasion, against nature, to send the bodies of good men to heaven; but we are to conclude, that virtuous souls, by nature and the divine justice, rise from men to heroes, from heroes to genii; and at last, if, as in the mysteries, they be perfectly cleansed and purified, shaking of all remains of mortality, and all the power of the passions, then they finally attain the most glorious and perfect happiness, and ascend from genii to gods, not by the vote of the people, but by the just and established order of nature *.

The surname that Romulus had of Quirinus, some think was given him, as (another) Mars; others, because they call the Roman citizens Quirites; others, again, because the ancients gave the name of Quiris to the point of a spear, or to the spear itself; and that of Juno Quiritis to the statues of Juno, when she was represented leaning on a spear. Moreover, they styled a certain spear, which was consecrated in the palace, Mars; and those that distinguished themselves in war were rewarded with a spear. Romulus, then, as a martial or warrior god, was named Quirinus; and the hill on which his temple stands, has the name of Quirinalis on his account. The day on which he disappeared, is called *the flight of the people*, and *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, because then they go out of the city to offer sacrifice at the Goat's-Marsh. On this occasion they pronounce aloud some of their proper names, Marcus and Caius for instance, representing the flight that then happened, and their calling upon one another, amidst the terror and confusion. Others, however, are of opinion, that this is not a representation of flight, but of haste and eagerness, deriving the ceremony from this source: When the Gauls, after

Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres,
Ling'ring and sitting by a new-made grave,
As loth to leave the body that it lov'd,
And links itself by carnal sensuality
To a degenerate and degraded state.

* Hesiod was the first who distinguished those four natures, men, heroes, genii, and gods. He saw room, it seems, for perpetual progression and improvement in a state of immortality. And when the heathens tell us, that before the last degree, that of divinity is reached, those beings are liable to be replunged into their primitive state of darkness, one would imagine they had heard something of the fallen angels.

after the taking of Rome, were driven out by Camillus, and the city thus weakened did not eaſily recover itſelf, many of the Latins, under the conduct of Livius Poſthumius, marched againſt it. This army ſitting down before Rome, a herald was ſent to ſignify, that the Latins were deſirous to renew their old alliance and affinity, which was now declining by new inter-marriages. If, therefore, they would ſend them a good number of their virgins and widows, peace and friendſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed between them, as it was before with the Sabines on the like occaſion. When the Romans heard this, though they were afraid of war, yet they looked upon the giving up of their women as not at all more eligible than captivity. While they were in this ſuſpence, a ſervant-maid, named Philotis, or, according to others, Tutola, adviſed them to do neither, but by a ſtratagem, which ſhe had thought of, to avoid both the war and the giving of hoſtages. The ſtratagem was to dreſs Philotis herſelf, and other handſome female ſlaves, in good attire, and ſend them, inſtead of free-born virgins, to the enemy. Then in the night, Philotis was to light up a torch (as a ſignal) for the Romans to attack the enemy, and deſpatch them in their ſleep. The Latins were ſatisfied, and the ſcheme put in practice. For accordingly Philotis did ſet up a torch on a wild fig-tree, ſcreening it behind with curtains and coverlets from the ſight of the enemy, whilſt it was viſible to the Romans. As ſoon as they beheld it, they ſet out in great haſte, often calling upon each other at the gates to be expeditious. Then they fell upon the Latins, who expected nothing leſs, and cut them in pieces. Hence this feaſt, in memory of the victory. The day was called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, on account of the *wild fig-tree*, in the Roman tongue *caprificus*. The women are entertained in the fields in booths made of the branches of the fig-tree: and the ſervant-maids in companies run about and play; afterwards they come to blows, and throw ſtones at one another, in remembrance of their then aſſiſting and ſtanding by the Romans in the battle. Theſe particulars are admitted but by few hiſtorians. Indeed, their calling upon each other's names in the daytime, and their walking in proceſſion to the *Goat's-Marſh* *, like

* Inſtead of ὡς επι θαλαττᾳν, the reading in Bryan's text, which has no tolerable ſenſe, an anonymous copy gives us ὥσπερ αλαλαζειν.

And

like perſons that were going to a ſacrifice, ſeems rather to be placed to the former account: though poſſibly both theſe events might happen, in diſtant periods, on the ſame day. Romulus is ſaid to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign *, when he was taken from the world.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

ROMULUS AND THESEUS

COMPARED.

THIS is all I have met with that deſerves to be related concerning Romulus and Theſeus. And to come to the compariſon †, firſt it appears, that Theſeus was inclined to great enterprizes, by his own proper choice, and compelled by no neceſſity, ſince he might have reigned in peace at Trœzene, over a kingdom by no means contemptible, which would have fallen to him by ſucceſſion: Whereas Romulus, in order to avoid preſent ſlavery and impending puniſhment, became valiant (as Plato expreſſes it) through fear and was driven, by the terror of extreme ſufferings to arduous attempts. Beſides, the greateſt action of Romulus was the killing of one tyrant in Alba: But the firſt exploits of Theſeus, performed occaſionally, and by way of prelude only, were thoſe of deſtroying Sciron, Sinnis, Procruſtes, and the *club-bearer*; by whoſe puniſhment and death he delivered Greece from ſeveral cruel tyrants, before they, for whoſe preſervation he was labouring, knew him. Moreover, he

And that to *ſacrifice*, or rather *to offer up prayers at a ſacrifice*, is in one ſenſe of αλαλαζειν, appears from the ſcholiaſt on Sophocles's *Trachiniæ*, where he explains αλαλαγωις by ταις επι των θυσιων ευχαις. This ſignification, we ſuppoſe, it gained from the loud accent in which thoſe prayers were ſaid or ſung.

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus (and indeed Plutarch himſelf, in the beginning of the life of Numa) ſays, that Romulus left the world in the thirty-ſeventh year after the foundation of Rome. But perhaps thoſe two hiſtorians may be reconciled as to the age he died at. For Plutarch ſays, he was then full fifty-four years of age, and Dionyſius that he was in his fifty-fifth year.

† Nothing can be more excellent than theſe parallels of Plutarch. He weighs the virtues and vices of men in ſo juſt a balance, and puts ſo true an eſtimate on their good and bad qualities, that the reader cannot attend to them without infinite advantage.

he might have gone ſafely to Athens by ſea, without any danger from robbers; but Romulus could have no ſecurity, while Amulius lived. This difference is evident. Theſeus, when unmoleſted himſelf, went forth to reſcue others from their oppreſſors. On the other hand, Romulus and his brother, while they were uninjured by the tyrant themſelves, quietly ſuffered him to exerciſe his cruelties. And, if it was a great thing for Romulus to be wounded in the battle with the Sabines, to kill Acron, and to conquer many other enemies, we may ſet againſt theſe diſtinctions the battle with the Centaurs, and the war with the Amazons.

But as to Theſeus's enterprize with reſpect to the Cretan tribute, when he voluntarily offered to go among the young men and virgins, whether he was to expect to be food for ſome wild beaſt, or to be ſacrificed at Androgeus's tomb, or, which is the lighteſt of all the evils ſaid to be prepared for him, to ſubmit to a vile and diſhonourable ſlavery, it is not eaſy to expreſs his courage and magnanimity, his regard for juſtice and the public good, and his love of glory and of virtue. On this occaſion, it appears to me, that the philoſophers have not ill defined *love* to be *a remedy provided by the gods for the ſafety and preſervation of youth* *. For Ariadne's love ſeems to have been the work of ſome god, who deſigned by that means to preſerve this great man. Nor ſhould we blame her for her paſſion, but rather wonder that all were not alike affected towards him. And if ſhe alone was ſenſible of that tenderneſs, I may juſtly pronounce her worthy the love of a god †, as ſhe ſhewed ſo great a regard for virtue and excellence in her attachment to ſo worthy a man.

Both Theſeus and Romulus were born with political talents; yet neither of them preſerved the proper character of a king, but deviated from the due medium, the one erring on the ſide of democracy, the other on that of abſolute power, according to their different tempers. For a prince's firſt concern is to preſerve the government itſelf:

* *Vide* PLAT. *Conviv.*

† Plutarch here enters into the notion of Socrates, who teaches, that it is the love of virtue and real excellence which alone can unite us to the Supreme Being. But though this maxim is good, it is not applicable to Ariadne. For where is the virtue of that princeſs, who fell in love with a ſtranger at firſt ſight, and haſtened to the completion of her wiſhes through the ruin of her kindred and her country?

itſelf: and this is effected, no leſs by avoiding whatever is improper, than by cultivating what is ſuitable to his dignity. *He who gives up, or extends his authority, continues not a prince or a king, but degenerates into a republican or a tyrant,* and thus incurs either the hatred or contempt of his ſubjects. The former ſeems to be the error of a mild and humane diſpoſition, the latter of ſelf-love and ſeverity.

If, then, the calamities of mankind are not to be entirely attributed to fortune, but we are to ſeek the cauſe in their different manners and paſſions, here we ſhall find, that unreaſonable anger, with quick and unadviſed reſentment, is to be imputed both to Romulus, in the caſe of his brother, and to Theſeus in that of his ſon. But, if we conſider whence their anger took its riſe, the latter ſeems the more excuſable, from the greater cauſe he had for reſentment, as yielding to the heavier blow. For, as the diſpute began when Romulus was in cool conſultation for the common good*, one would think he could not preſently have given way to ſuch a paſſion: Whereas Theſeus was urged againſt his ſon, by emotions which few men have been able to withſtand, proceeding from love, jealouſy, and the falſe ſuggeſtions of his wife. What is more, the anger of Romulus diſcharged itſelf in an action of moſt unfortunate conſequence; but that of Theſeus proceeded no further than words, reproaches, and imprecations, the uſual revenge of old men. The reſt of the young man's miſery ſeems to have been owing to fortune. Thus far Theſeus ſeems to deſerve the preference.

But Romulus has, in the firſt place, this great advantage, that he roſe to diſtinction from very ſmall beginnings. For the two brothers were reputed ſlaves and ſons of herdſmen; and yet before they attained to liberty themſelves, they beſtowed it on almoſt all the Latins; gaining at once the moſt glorious titles, as deſtroyers of their enemies, deliverers of their kindred, kings of nations, and founders of cities, not tranſplanters, as Theſeus was, who filled indeed one city with people, but it was by ruining many others, which bore the names of ancient

* Plutarch does not ſeem to have had a juſt idea of the conteſt between Romulus and Remus. The two brothers were not ſo ſolicitous about the ſituation of their new city, as which of them ſhould have the command in it, when it was built.

ancient kings and heroes. And Romulus afterwards effected the ſame, when he compelled his enemies to demoliſh their habitations, and incorporate with their conquerors. He had not, however, a city ready build, to enlarge, or to tranſplant inhabitants to from other towns, but he created one, gaining to himſelf lands, a country a kingdom, children, wives, alliances; and this without deſtroying or ruining any one. On the contrary, he was a great benefactor to perſons who, having neither houſe nor habitation, willingly became his citizens and people. He did not, indeed, like Theſeus, deſtroy robbers and ruffians, but he ſubdued nations, took cities, and triumphed over kings and generals.

As for the fate of Remus, it is doubtful by what hand he fell; moſt writers aſcribing it to others, and not to Romulus. But, in the face of all the world, he ſaved his mother from deſtruction, and placed his grandfather, who lived in mean and diſhonourable ſubjection, upon the throne of Æneas: Moreover, he voluntarily did him many kind offices, but never injured him, not even inadvertently. On the other hand, I think, Theſeus, in forgetting or neglecting the command about the ſail, can ſcarcely, by any excuſes, or before the mildeſt judges, avoid the imputation of parricide. Senſible how difficult the defence of this affair would be to thoſe who ſhould attempt it, a certain Athenian writer feigns, that when the ſhip approached, Ægeus ran in great haſte to the citadel for the better view of it, and miſſing his ſtep, fell down; as if he were deſtitute of ſervants, or went, in whatever hurry, unattended to the ſea.

Moreover, Theſeus's rapes and offences, with reſpect to women, admit of no plauſible excuſe; becauſe, in the firſt place, they were committed often; for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the Trœzenian; after the reſt, Helen; though ſhe was a girl not yet come to maturity, and he ſo far advanced in years, that it was time for him to think no more even of lawful marriage. The next aggravation is the cauſe; for the daughters of the Trœzenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Amazons, were not more fit to bring children, than thoſe of the Athenians ſprung from Erectheus and Cecrops. Theſe things, therefore, are liable to the ſuſpicion of a wanton and licentious appetite. On the other hand, Romulus, having carried off at once almoſt eight hundred women, did not

(N. D. 1794.) take

take them all, but only Hersilia, as it is said, for himself, and distributed the rest among the most respectable citizens. And afterwards, by the honourable and affectionate treatment he procured them, he turned that injury and violence into a glorious exploit, performed with a political view to the good of society. Thus he united and cemented the two nations together, and opened a source of future kindness, and of additional power. Time bears witness to the conjugal modesty, tenderness, and fidelity, which he established; for during two hundred and thiry years no man attempted to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband *. And, as the very curious among the Greeks can tell you, who was the first person that killed his father and mother, so all the Romans know, that Spurius Carvilius was the first that divorced his wife, alleging her barrenness †. The immediate effects, as well as length of time, attest what I have said. For the two kings shared the kingdom, and the two nations came under the same government, by means of these alliances. But the marriages of Theseus procured the Athenians no friendship with any other state; on the contrary, enmity, wars, the destruction of their citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnæ; which, only through the compassion of the enemy, whom the inhabitants supplicated and honoured like gods, escaped the fate that befel Troy by means of Paris. However, the mother of Theseus, deserted and given up by her son, was not only in danger of, but really did suffer, the misfortunes of Hecuba, if her captivity be not a fiction, as a great deal besides may very well be. As to the stories we have concerning both, of a supernatural kind, the difference is great. For Romulus was preserved by the signal favour of heaven; but as the oracle which commanded Ægeus not to approach any woman in a foreign country, was not observed, the birth of Theseus appears to have been unacceptable to the gods.

LYCUR-

* These numbers are wrong in Plutarch; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus marks the time with great exactness, acquainting us, that it was 520 years after the building of Rome, in the consulate of M. Pomponius Matho and C. Papirius Masso.

† Carvilius made oath before the censors, that he had the best regard for his wife, and that it was solely in compliance with the sacred engagement of marriage, the design of which was to have children, that he divorced her. But this did not hinder his character from being ever after odious to the people, who thought he had set a very pernicious example.

LYCURGUS*.

OF Lycurgus the lawgiver we have nothing to relate that is certain and uncontroverted. For there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and eſpecially of the laws and form of government which he eſtabliſhed. But leaſt of all are the times agreed upon in which this great man lived. For ſome ſay he flouriſhed at the ſame time with Iphitus †, and joined with him in ſettling the ceſſation of arms during the Olympic games. Among theſe is Ariſtotle the philoſopher, who alleges for proof an Olympic quoit, on which was preſerved the inſcription of Lycurgus's name. But others who, with Eratoſthenes and Apollodorus, compute the time by the ſucceſſions of the Spartan kings ‡, place him much earlier than

* The life of Lycurgus was the firſt which Plutarch publiſhed. as he himſelf obſerves in the life of Theſeus. He ſeems to have had a ſtrong attachment to the Spartans and their cuſtoms, as Xenophon likewiſe had. For, beſide this life, and thoſe of ſeveral other Spartan chiefs, we have a treatiſe of his on the laws and cuſtoms of the Lacedæmonians, and another of Laconic Apophthegms. He makes Lycurgus in all things a perfect hero, and alleges his behaviour as a proof, that the wiſe man, ſo often deſcribed by the philoſophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. It is certain, however, that the encomiums beſtowed upon him and his laws by the Delphic oracle, were merely a contrivance between the Pythoneſs and himſelf; and ſome of his laws, for inſtance that concerning the women, were exceptionable.

† Iphitus, king of Elis, is ſaid to have inſtituted, or rather reſtored, the Olympic games, 108 years before what is commonly reckoned the firſt Olympiad, which commenced in the year before Chriſt 776, or, as ſome will have it, 774, and bore the name of Corœbus, as the following Olympiads did thoſe of other victors.

Iphitus began with offering a ſacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans believed to have been upon ſome account exaſperated againſt them. He next ordered the Olympic games the diſcontinuance of which was ſaid to have cauſed a peſtilence, to be proclaimed all over Greece, with a promiſe of free admiſſion to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them. He likewiſe took upon himſelf to be ſole preſident and judge of thoſe games, a privilege which the Piſeans had often diſputed with his predeceſſors, and which continued to his deſcendants, as long as the regal dignity ſubſiſted. After this, the people appointed two preſidents, which in time increaſed to ten, and at length to twelve.

‡ Strabo ſays, that Lycurgus the lawgiver certainly lived in the fifth generation after Althemenes, who led a colony into Crete. This Althemenes was the ſon of Ciſſus who founded Argos, at the ſame time that

than the firſt Olympiad. Timæus, however, ſuppoſes, that, as there were two Lycurgus's in Sparta at different times, the actions of both are aſcribed to one, on account of his particular renown; and that the more ancient of them lived not long after Homer: Nay ſome ſay he had ſeen him. Xenophon, too confirms the opinion of his antiquity, when he makes him cotemporary with the Heraclidæ. It is true, the lateſt of the Lacedæmonian kings were of the lineage of the Heraclidæ; but Xenophon there ſeems to ſpeak of the firſt and more immediate deſcendants of Hercules *. As the hiſtory of thoſe times is thus involved, in relating the circumſtances of Lycurgus's life, we ſhall endeavour to ſelect ſuch as are leaſt controverted, and follow authors of the greateſt credit.

Simonides the poet tells us, that Prytanis, not Eunomus, was father to Lycurgus. But moſt writers give us the genealogy of Lycurgus and Eunomus in a different manner; for, according to them, Soüs was the ſon of Patrocles, and grandſon of Ariſtodemus; Eurytion the ſon of Soüs, Prytanis of Eurytion, and Eunomus of Prytanis; to this Eunomus was born Polydectes, by a former wife, and by a ſecond, named Dianaſſa, Lycurgus. Eutychidas, however, ſays Lycurgus was the ſixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of his anceſtors was Soüs, under whom the Lacedæmonians made the *Helotes* their ſlaves †, and gained an extenſive tract of land from the Arcadians. Of this Soüs it is related, that, being beſieged by the Clitorians in a difficult poſt where there was no water, he agreed to give up all his conqueſts, provided that himſelf and all his army ſhould drink of the neighbouring ſpring. When theſe conditions were ſworn to, he aſſembled his forces, and offered his kingdom to the man

that Patrocles, Lycurgus's anceſtor in the fifth degree, laid the foundations of Sparta. So that Lycurgus flouriſhed ſome ſhort time after Solomon, about 900 years before the Chriſtian Æra.

* This paſſage is in Xenophon's excellent treatiſe concerning the republic of Sparta, from which Plutarch has taken the beſt part of this life.

† The Helotes, or Ilotes, were inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town of Laconia. The Lacedæmonians having conquered and made ſlaves of them, called not only them, but all the other ſlaves they happened to have, by the name of *Helotes*. It is certain, however, that the deſcendants of the original *Helotes*, though they were extremely ill-treated, and ſome of them aſſaſſinated, ſubſiſted many ages in Laconia,

that would forbear drinking; not one of them, however, could deny himſelf, but they all drank. Then Soüs went down to the ſpring himſelf, and having only ſprinkled his face in ſight of the enemy, he marched off, and ſtill held the country, becauſe *all* had not drank. Yet, though he was highly honoured for this, the family had not their name from him, but, from his ſon, were called *Eurytionidæ**: and this, becauſe Eurytion ſeems to be the firſt who relaxed the ſtrictneſs of kingly government, inclining to the intereſt of the people, and ingratiating himſelf with them. Upon this relaxation, their encroachments increaſed, and the ſucceeding kings, either becoming odious, treating them with greater rigour, or elſe giving way through weakneſs or in hopes of favour, for a long time anarchy and confuſion prevailed in Sparta; by which one of its kings, the father of Lycurgus loſt his life. For while he was endeavouring to part ſome perſons who were concerned in a fray, he received a wound by a kitchen knife of which he died, leaving the kingdom to his eldeſt ſon Polydectes.

But, he too, dying ſoon after, the general voice gave it for Lycurgus to aſcend the throne; and he actually did ſo, till it appeared that his brother's widow was pregnant. As ſoon as he perceived this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her iſſue, provided it were male, and he kept the adminiſtration in his hands, only as his guardian. This he did with the title of *Prodicos*, which the Lacedæmonians give to the guardians of infant kings. Soon after the queen made him a private overture, that ſhe would deſtroy her child upon condition that he would marry her, when king of Sparta. Though he deteſted her wickedneſs, he ſaid nothing againſt the propoſal, but pretending

* It may be proper here to give the reader a ſhort view of the regal government of Lacedæmon, under the Herculean line. The Heraclidæ having driven out Tiſamenes, the ſon of Oreſtes, Euryſthenes and Procles, the ſons of Ariſtodemus, reigned in that kingdom. Under them the government took a new form, and inſtead of one ſovereign, became ſubject to two. Theſe two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, neither did they agree to reign alternately, but they reſolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority. What is ſurpriſing is, that, notwithſtanding their mutual jealouſy, this diarchy did not end with theſe two brothers, but continued under a ſucceſſion of thirty princes of the line of Euryſthenes, and twenty-ſeven of that of Procles. Euryſthenes was ſucceeded by his ſon Agis, from whom all the deſcendants of that line were ſurnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ*, from Eurytion, the grandſon of Procles, Patrocles, or Protocles. PAUSAN. STRAB. *& al.*

pretending to approve it, charged her not to take any drugs to procure an abortion, lest she should endanger her own health or life; for he would take care that the child, as soon as born, should be destroyed. Thus he artfully drew on the woman to her full time, and, when he heard she was in labour, he sent persons to attend and watch her delivery, with orders, if it were a girl to give it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, in whatever business he might be engaged. It happened that he was at supper with the magistrates when she was delivered of a boy, and his servants, who were present, carried the child to him. When he received it, he is reported to have said to the company, *Spartans, see here your new-born king*. He then laid him down upon the chair of state, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy and admiration of his magnanimity and justice, testified by all present. Thus the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight months. But the citizens had a great veneration for him on other accounts, and there were more that paid him their attentions, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than those that obeyed him as a guardian to the king, and director of the administration. There were not, however, wanting those that envied him, and opposed his advancement, as too high for so young a man; particularly the relations and friends of the queen-mother, who seemed to have been treated with contempt. Her brother Leonidas, one day boldly attacked him with virulent language, and scrupled not to tell him, that he was well assured he would soon be king; thus preparing suspicions, and matter of accusation against Lycurgus, in case any accident should befal the king. Insinuations of the same kind were likewise spread by the queen-mother. Moved with this ill treatment, and fearing some dark design, he determined to get clear of all suspicion, by travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up, and have a son to succeed him in the kingpom.

He set sail, therefore, and landed in Crete. There having observed the forms of government, and conversed with the most illustrious personages, he was struck with admiration of some of their laws*, and resolved at his return

* The most ancient writers, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Aristotle, and Plato, are of opinion, that Lycurgus adopted many things in the

return to make use of them in Sparta. Some others he rejected. Among the friends he gained in Crete, was Thales *, with whom he had interest enough to persuade him to go and settle at Sparta. Thales was famed for his wisdom and political abilities: he was withal a lyric poet, who under colour of exercising his art, performed as great things as the most excellent lawgivers. For his odes were so many persuasives to obedience and unanimity, as by means of melody and numbers they had great grace and power, they softened insensibly the manners of the audience, drew them off from the animosities which then prevailed, and united them in zeal for excellence and virtue. So that, in some measure, he prepared the way for Lycurgus towards the instruction of the Spartans. From Crete Lycurgus passed to Asia, desirous, as is said, to compare the Ionian † expence and luxury with the Cretan frugality and hard diet, so as to judge what effect each had on their several manners and governments; just as physicians compare bodies that are weak and sickly with the healthy and robust. There also, probably ‡, he met with Homer's poems, which were preserved by the posterity of Cleophylus. Observing that many moral sentences, and much political knowledge were intermixed

the Cretan polity. But Polybius will have it that they are all mistaken. "At Sparta," says he, (in his sixth book) "the lands are "equally divided among all the citizens; wealth is banished; the "crown is hereditary; whereas in Crete the contrary obtains." But this does not prove that Lycurgus might not take some good laws and usages from Crete, and leave what he thought defective. There is, indeed, so great a conformity between the laws of Lycurgus and those of Minos, that we must believe with Strabo, that these were the foundation of the other.

* This Thales, who was a poet and musician, must be distinguished from Thales the Milesian, who was one of the seven wise men of Greece. The poet lived 250 years before the philosopher.

† The Ionians sent a colony from Attica into Asia Minor, about 1050 years before the Christian Æra, and 150 before Lycurgus. And though they might not be greatly degenerated in so short a time yet our lawgiver could judge of the effect which the climate and Asiatic plenty had upon them.

‡ He adds *probably* ὡς ἐοικεν, because some Greek authors have affirmed that Lycurgus saw Homer himself, who was at that time at Chios. But Plutarch's opinion is more to be relied on. Homer died before Lycurgus was born. Before the time of Lycurgus, they had nothing in Greece of Homer, but some detached pieces, which were severally named from the different subjects treated of in them; such as the valour of *Diomede*, *Hector's ransom*, and the like.

mixed with his ſtories, which had an irreſiſtible charm, he collected them into one body, and tranſcribed them with pleaſure, in order to take them home with him. For his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece; only ſome particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be diſperſed. Lycurgus was the firſt that made them generally known. The Egyptians likewiſe ſuppoſe that he viſited *them*; and as of all their inſtitutions he was moſt pleaſed with their diſtinguiſhing the military men from the reſt of the people *, he took the ſame method at Sparta, and, by ſeparating from theſe the mechanics and artificers, he rendered the conſtitution more noble and more of a piece. This aſſertion of the Egyptians is confirmed by ſome of the Greek writers. But we know of no one, except Ariſtocrates, ſon of Hipparchus, and a Spartan, who has affirmed that he went to Libya and Spain, and in his Indian excurſions converſed with the *Gymnoſophiſts* †.

The Lacedæmonians found the want of Lycurgus when abſent, and ſent many embaſſies to intreat him to return. For they perceived that their kings had barely the title and outward appendages of royalty, but in nothing elſe differed from the multitude; whereas Lycurgus had abilities from nature to guide the meaſures of government, and powers of perſuaſion, that drew the hearts of men to him. The kings, however, were conſulted about his return, and they hoped that in his preſence they ſhould experience leſs inſolence amongſt the people. Returning then to a city thus diſpoſed, he immediately applied himſelf to alter the whole frame of the conſtitution;

* The ancient Egyptians kept not only the prieſts and military men who conſiſted chiefly of the nobility, diſtinct from the reſt of the people; but the other employments, *viz.* thoſe of herdſmen, ſhepherds, merchants, interpreters, and ſeamen, deſcended in particular tribes from father to ſon.

† Indian prieſts and philoſophers who went almoſt naked, and lived in woods. The *Brachmans* were one of their ſects. They had a great averſion to idleneſs. Apuleius tells us, every pupil of theirs was obliged to give account every day of ſome good he had done, either by meditation or action, before he was admitted to ſit down to dinner. So thoroughly were they perſuaded of the tranſmigration of the ſoul, and a happy one for themſelves, that they uſed to commit themſelves to the flames, when they had lived to ſatiety, or were apprehenſive of any misfortune. But we are afraid it was vanity that induced one of them to burn himſelf before Alexander the Great, and another to do the ſame before Auguſtus Cæſar.

tution; sensible that a partial change, and the introducing of some new laws, would be of no sort of advantage; but, as in the case of a body diseased and full of bad humours, whose temperament is to be corrected and new formed by medicines, it was necessary to begin a new regimen. With these sentiments he went to Delphi, and when he had offered sacrifice and consulted the god *, he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the priestess called him, *Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man.* As to his request that he might enact good laws, she told him, Apollo *had heard his request, and promised that the constitution he should establish, would be the most excellent in the world.* Thus encouraged, he applied to the nobility, and desired them to put their hands to the work; addressing himself privately at first to his friends, and afterwards, by degrees, trying the disposition of others, and preparing them to concur in the business. When matters were ripe, he ordered thirty of the principal citizens to appear armed in the market-place by break of day, to strike terror into such as might desire to oppose him. Hermippus has given us the names of twenty of the most eminent of them; but he that had the greatest share in the whole enterprise, and gave Lycurgus the best assistance in the establishing of his laws, was called Arithmiades. Upon the first alarm, king Charilaus, apprehending it to be a design against his person, took refuge in the *Chalcioicos* †. But he was soon satisfied, and accepted of their oath. Nay, so far from being obstinate, he joined in the undertaking. Indeed, he was so remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, that Archelaus, his partner in the throne, is reported to have said to some that were praising the young king, *Yes, Charilaus is a good man to be sure, who cannot find in his heart*

* As Minos had persuaded the Cretans, that his laws were delivered to him from Jupiter, so Lycurgus, his imitator, was willing to make the Spartans believe that he did every thing by the direction of Apollo. Other legislatures have found it very convenient to propagate an opinion, that their institutions were from the gods. For that self-love in human nature, which would but ill have borne with the superiority of genius that must have been acknowledged in an unassisted lawgiver, found an ease and satisfaction in admitting his new regulations, when they were said to come from heaven.

† That is, the *brazen temple.* It was standing in the time of Pausanias, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.

heart to punish the bad. Among the many new institutions of Lycurgus, the first and most important was that of a *senate*; which sharing, as Plato says *, in the power of the kings, too imperious and unrestrained before, and having equal authority with them, was the means of keeping them within the bounds of moderation, and highly contributed to the preservation of the state. For before it had been veering and unsettled, sometimes inclining to arbitrary power, and sometimes towards a pure democracy; but this establishment of a senate, an intermediate body, like ballast, kept it in a just equilibrium, and put it in a safe posture: *the twenty-eight senators adhering to the kings, whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and, on the other hand, supporting the people, when the kings attempted to make themselves absolute.* This, according to Aristotle, was the number of senators fixed upon, because two of the thirty associates of Lycurgus deserted the business through fear. But Sphærus tells us, there were only twenty-eight at first entrusted with the design. Something, perhaps, there is in its being a perfect number, formed of seven multiplied by four, and withal the first number, after six, that is equal to all its parts. But I rather think, just so many senators were created

* The passage to which Plutarch refers, is in Plato's third book of *laws*, where he is examining into the causes of the downfal of states. An Athenian is introduced thus speaking to a Lacedæmonian. "Some "god, I believe, in his care for your state, and in his foresight of what "would happen, has given you two kings of the same family, in or-"der that reigning jointly, they might govern with the more mode-"ration, and Sparta experience the greater tranquillity. After this, "when the regal authority was grown again too absolute and impe-"rious, a divine spirit residing in a human nature (*i. e.* Lycurgus) "reduced it within the bounds of equity and moderation, by the wise "provision of a senate, whose authority was to be equal to that of "the kings." Aristotle finds fault with this circumstance in the institution of the senate, that the senators were to continue for life; for as the mind grows old with the body, he thought it unreasonable to put the fortunes of the citizens into the power of men who through age might become incapable of judging. He likewise thought it very unreasonable that they were not made accountable for their actions. But for the latter inconvenience sufficient provision seems to have been made afterwards, by the institution of the *Ephori*, who had it chiefly in charge to defend the rights of the people; and therefore Plato adds, "A third blessing to Sparta was the prince, who finding "the power of the senate and the kings too arbitrary and uncon-"trouled, contrived the authority of the *Ephori* as a restraint upon "it," &c.

created, that, together with the two kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members.

He had this institution so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in its behalf, called *rhetra*, or *the decree*. This was couched in very ancient and uncommon terms, which, interpreted, ran thus: *When you have built a temple to the Syllanian Jupiter, and the Syllanian Minerva* *, *divided the people into tribes and classes, and established a senate of thirty persons, including the two kings, you shall occasionally summon the people to an assembly between Babyce and Cnacion, and they shall have the determining voice.* Babyce and Cnacion are now called Oenus: But Aristotle thinks, by Cnacion is meant the river, and by Babyce the bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls, nor any kind of building for that purpose. These things he thought of no advantage to their councils, but rather a disservice; as they distracted the attention, and turned it upon trifles, on observing the statues and pictures, the splendid roofs, and every other theatrical ornament. The people thus assembled had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorised to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings. But because, in process of time, the people, by additions or retrenchments, changed the terms, and perverted the sense of the decrees, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted in the *rhetra* this clause. *If the people attempt to corrupt any law, the senate and chiefs shall retire:* That is, they shall dissolve the assembly, and annul the alterations. And they found means to persuade the Spartans that this too was ordered by Apollo; as we learn from these verses of Tyrtæus:

> Ye sons of Sparta, who at Phœbus' shrine
> Your humble vows prefer, attentive hear
> The god's decision. O'er your beauteous lands
> Two guardian kings, a senate, and the voice
> Of the concurring people, lasting laws
> Shall with joint power establish.

Though the government was thus tempered by Lycurgus, yet soon after it degenerated into an oligarchy, whose

* As no account can be given of the meaning of the word *Syllanian*, it is supposed it should be either read *Sellasian*, from Sellasia a town of Laconia upon the Eurotas; or else *Hellanian*, as much as to say, the Grecian Jupiter, &c.

whose power was exercised with such wantonness and violence, that it wanted indeed a bridle, as Plato expresses it. This curb they found in the authority of the *Ephori**, about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. Elatus was the first invested with this dignity, in the reign of Theopompus; who, when his wife upbraided him, that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, *Nay, but greater, because more lasting.* And in fact, the prerogative, so stript of all extravagant pretensions, no longer occasioned either envy or danger to its possessors. By these means they escaped the miseries which befel the Messenian and Argive kings, who would not in the least relax the severity of their power in favour of the people. Indeed, from nothing more does the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus appear, than from the disorderly governments, and the bad understanding that subsisted between the kings and people of Messena and Argos, neighbouring states, and related in blood to Sparta. For, as at first they were in all respects equal to her, and possessed of a better country, and

* Herodotus, (l. i. c. 65.) and Xenophon. *(de Repub. Lac.)* tell us, the *Ephori* were appointed by Lycurgus himself. But the account which Plutarch gives us from Aristotle, (*Polit.* l. v.) and others, of their being instituted long after, seems more agreeable to reason. For it is not likely, that Lycurgus, who in all things endeavoured to support the aristocracy, and left the people only the right of assenting or dissenting to what was proposed to them, would appoint a kind of tribunes of the people, to be masters as it were both of the kings and the senate. Some, indeed, suppose the *Ephori* to have been at first the king's friends, to whom they delegated their authority, when they were obliged to be in the field. But it is very clear that they were elected by the people out of their own body, and sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for the boldest citizen, whoever he was, was most likely to be chosen to this office, which was intended as a check on the senate and the kings. They were five in number, like the *Quinqueviri* in the republic of Carthage. They were annually elected, and, in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite. Their authority, though well designed at first, came at length to be in a manner boundless. They presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, inquired into the conduct of all magistrates, inspected into the behaviour and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and, in short, by degrees, drew the whole administration into their hands. They even went so far as to put king Agis to death under a form of justice, and were themselves at last killed by Cleomenes.

and yet preserved no lasting happiness, but, through the insolence of the kings and disobedience of the people, were harassed with perpetual troubles, they made it very evident, that it was really a felicity more than human, a blessing from heaven to the Spartans, to have a legislator who knew so well how to frame and temper their government *. But this was an event of a later date.

A second and bolder political enterprise of Lycurgus, was a new division of the lands. For he found a prodigious inequality, the city overcharged with many indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal, I mean poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living.—Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction they might seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them, but that which arises from the dishonour of base actions and the praise of good ones. His proposal was put in practice. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. But some say he made only six thousand shares for the city, and that Polydorus added three thousand afterwards: others, that Polydorus doubled the number appointed by Lycurgus, which were only four thousand five hundred. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy bushels of grain for each man †, and twelve for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought sufficient for health and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. A story goes of our legislator, that some time

* Whatever Plutarch might mean by ταυτα μεν ην υϛερον, it is certain that kingly power was abolished in the states of Messene and Argos long before the time of Lycurgus the lawgiver, and a democracy had taken place in those cities. Indeed, those states experienced great internal troubles, not only while under the government of kings, but when in the form of commonwealths, and never, after the time of Lycurgus, made any figure equal to Lacedæmon.

† By a man is meant a master of a family, whose household was to subsist upon these seventy bushels.

time after, returning from a journey through the fields just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some that were by, *How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!*

After this, he attempted to divide also the moveables, in order to take away all appearance of inequality; but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method, counter-working their avarice by a stratagem *. First he stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only: then to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a very small value; so that to lay up ten *minæ* †, a whole room was required, and to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedæmon. Who would steal or take a br be, who would defraud or rob, when he could not conceal the booty; when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor if cut in pieces be served by its use? For we are told that when hot, they quenched it in vinegar, to make it brittle and unmalleable, and consequently unfit for any other service. In the next place, he excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts: indeed, if he had not done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised; so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares; nor did any merchant-ship unlade in their harbours. There were

* For a long time after Lycurgus, the Spartans gloriously opposed the growth of avarice: insomuch, that a young man, who had bought an estate at a great advantage, was called to account for it, and a fine set upon him. For, besides the injustice he was guilty of in buying a thing for less than it was worth, they judged that he was too desirous of gain, since his mind was employed in getting, at an age when others think of nothing but spending.

But when the Spartans, no longer satisfied with their own territories, (as Lycurgus had enjoined them to be) came to be engaged in foreign wars, their money not being passable in other countries, they found themselves obliged to apply to the Persians, whose gold and silver dazzled their eyes. And their covetousness grew at length so infamous, that it occasioned the proverb mentioned by Plato, *One may see a great deal of money carried into Lacedæmon, but one never sees any of it brought out again.*

† 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* Sterling.

were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself: even they who had great possessions, had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless, in unregarded repositories. Hence it was, that excellent workmanship was shewn in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables; and the Lacedæmonian cup called *cothon*, as Critias informs us, was highly valued, particularly in campaigns: for the water which must then of necessity be drank, though it would often otherwise offend the sight, had its muddiness concealed by the colour of the cup, and the thick part stopping at the shelving brim, it came clearer to the lips. Of these improvements the lawgiver was the cause; for the workmen having no more employment in matters of mere curiosity, shewed the excellence of their art in necessary things.

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution, which was wisely enough and ingeniously contrived. This was the use of public tables*, where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the same time, they were forbidden to eat at home, upon expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten like voracious animals in private.

For

* Xenophon seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do: the rest only say, that this was intended to repress luxury; but he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed within their memory, and thereby exciting the growing generation to distinguish themselves by performances equally great.

But as it was found impracticable for all the citizens to eat in common, when the number of them came to exceed the number of the lots of land, Dacier thinks it might have been better if the lawgiver had ordained that those public tables should be maintained at the expence of the public, as it was done in Crete. But it must be considered, that, while the discipline of Lycurgus was kept up in its purity, they provided against any inconvenience from the increase of citizens, by sending out colonies, and Lacedæmon was not burdened with poor till the declension of that state.

For ſo not only their manners would be corrupted, but their bodies diſordered; abandoned to all manner of ſenſuality and diſſoluteneſs, they would require long ſleep, warm baths, and the ſame indulgence as in perpetual ſickneſs. To effect this was certainly very great; but it was greater ſtill, to ſecure riches from rapine and from envy, as Theophraſtus expreſſes it, or rather by their eating in common, and by the frugality of their table, to take from riches their very being. For what uſe or enjoyment of them, what peculiar diſplay of magnificence could there be, where the poor man went to the ſame refreſhment with the rich? Hence the obſervation, that it was only at Sparta where *Plutus* (according to the proverb) was kept blind, and, like an image, deſtitute of life or motion. It muſt further be obſerved, that they had not the privilege to eat at home, and ſo to come without appetite to the public repaſt: they made a point of it to obſerve any one that did not eat and drink with them, and to reproach him as an intemperate and effeminate perſon that was ſick of the common diet.

The rich, therefore, (we are told) were more offended with this regulation than with any other, and, riſing in a body, they loudly expreſſed their indignation: nay, they proceeded ſo far as to aſſault Lycurgus with ſtones, ſo that he was forced to fly from the aſſembly and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily, however, before he reached it, a young man named Alcander, haſty in his reſentments, though not otherwiſe ill-tempered, came up with him, and, upon his turning round, ſtruck out one of his eyes with a ſtick. Lycurgus then ſtopt ſhort, and, without giving way to paſſion, ſhewed the people his eye beat out, and his face ſtreaming with blood. They were ſo ſtruck with ſhame and ſorrow at the ſight, that they ſurrendered Alca der to him, and conducted him home with the utmoſt expreſſions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for their care of his perſon, and diſmiſſed them all except Alcander. He took him into his houſe, but ſhewed him no ill-treatment either by word or action; only ordering him to wait upon him, inſtead of his uſual ſervants and attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenuous diſpoſition, without murmuring did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity to obſerve the mildneſs and goodneſs of his heart, his ſtrict temperance and

indefatigable

indefatigable induſtry, he told his friends that Lycurgus was not that proud and ſevere man he might have been taken for, but, above all others, gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This, then, was his chaſtiſement, and this puniſhment he ſuffered, of a wild and head-ſtrong young man to become a very modeſt and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to *Minerva Optiletis*, ſo called by him from a term which the Dorians uſe for the eye. Yet Dioſcorides, who wrote a treatiſe concerning the Lacedæmonian government, and others, relate, that his eye was hurt, but not put out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddeſs for his cure. However, the Spartans never carried ſtaves to their aſſemblies afterwards.

The public repaſts were called by the Cretans *Andria*; but the Lacedæmonians ſtyled them *Phiditia*, either from their tendency to *friendſhip* and mutual benevolence, *phiditia* being uſed inſtead of *philitia*; or elſe from their teaching frugality and *parſimony*, which the word *pheido* ſignifies. But it is not at all impoſſible, that the firſt letter might by ſome means or other be added, and ſo *phiditia* take place of *editia*, which barely ſignifies *eating*. There were fifteen perſons to a table, or a few more or leſs. Each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a buſhel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheeſe, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy fleſh and fiſh. If any of them happened to offer a ſacrifice of firſt-fruits, or to kill veniſon, he ſent a part of it to the public table: for after a ſacrifice or hunting, he was at liberty to ſup at home; but the reſt were to appear at the uſual place. For a long time this eating in common was obſerved with great exactneſs: ſo that when king Agis returned from a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Athenians, and from a deſire to ſup with his wife, requeſted to have his portion at home* the *Polemarchs* refuſed to ſend it †: nay, when, through reſentment, he neglected the day following, to offer the ſacrifice uſual on occaſion of victory, they ſet a fine upon him. Children alſo

* The kings of Sparta had always double commons allowed them; not that they were permitted to indulge their appetites more than others, but that they might have an opportunity of ſharing their portion with ſome brave man whom they choſe to diſtinguiſh with that honour.

† The *Polemarchs* were thoſe who had commanded the army under the kings. The principal men in the ſtate always divided the commons.

alſo were introduced at theſe public tables, as ſo many ſchools of ſobriety. There they heard diſcourſes concerning government, and were inſtructed in the moſt liberal breeding. There they were allowed to jeſt without ſcurrility, and were not to take it ill when the raillery was returned. For *it was reckoned worthy of a Lacedæmonian to bear a jeſt*: but if any one's patience failed, he had only to deſire them to be quiet, and they left off immediately. When they firſt entered, the oldeſt man preſent pointed to the door, and ſaid, *Not a word ſpoken in this company goes out there.* The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation. Each member of that ſmall ſociety took a little ball of ſoft bread in his hand. This he was to drop, without ſaying a word, into a veſſel called *caddos*, which the waiter carried upon his head. In caſe he approved of the candidate, he did it without altering the figure, if not, he firſt preſt it flat in his hand; for a flatted ball was conſidered as a negative. And if but one ſuch was found, the perſon was not admitted, as they thought it proper that the whole company ſhould be ſatisfied with each other. He who was thus rejected, was ſaid to have no luck in the *caddos*. The diſh that was in the higheſt eſteem amongſt them was the black broth. The old men were ſo fond of it, that they ranged themſelves on one ſide and eat it, leaving the meat to the young people. It is related of a king of Pontus *, that he purchaſed a Lacedæmonian cook, for the ſake of this broth. But when he came to taſte it, he ſtrongly expreſſed his diſlike; and the cook made anſwer, *Sir, to make this broth reliſh, it is neceſſary firſt to bathe in the Eurotas.* After they had drank moderately, they went home without lights. Indeed, they were forbidden to walk with a light either on this or any other occaſion, that they might accuſtom themſelves to march in the darkeſt night boldly and reſolutely. Such was the order of their public repaſts.

Lycurgus left none of his laws in writing; it was ordered in one of the *Rhetræ* that none ſhould be written. For what he thought moſt conducive to the virtue and happineſs of a city, was principles interwoven with the manners and breeding of the people. Theſe would remain immoveable, as founded in inclination, and be the ſtrongeſt

* This ſtory is elſewhere told by Plutarch of Dionyſius the tyrant of Sicily; and Cicero confirms it, that he was the perſon.

ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting tie; and the habits which education produced in the youth, would anſwer in each the purpoſe of a lawgiver. As for ſmaller matters, contracts about property, and whatever occaſionally varied, it was better not to reduce theſe to a written form and unalterable method, but to ſuffer them to change with the times, and to admit of additions or retrenchments at the pleaſure of perſons ſo well educated. For he reſolved the whole buſineſs of legiſlation into the bringing up of youth. And this, as we have obſerved, was the reaſon why one of his ordinances forbad them to have any written laws.

Another ordinance levelled againſt magnificence and expence, directed, that the ceilings of houſes ſhould be wrought with no tool but the ax, and the doors with nothing but the ſaw. For, as Epaminondas is reported to have ſaid afterwards, of his table, *Treaſon lurks not under ſuch a dinner*, ſo Lycurgus perceived before him, that ſuch a houſe admits not of luxury and needleſs ſplendor. Indeed, no man could be ſo abſurd, as to bring into a dwelling ſo homely and ſimple, bedſteads with ſilver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a train of expence that follows theſe: but all would neceſſarily have the bed ſuitable to the room, the coverlet to the bed, and the reſt of their utenſils and furniture to that. From this plain ſort of dwellings, proceeded the queſtion of Leotychidas the elder to his hoſt, when he ſupped at Corinth, and ſaw the ceiling of the room very ſplendid and curiouſly wrought, *Whether trees grew ſquare in his country* *.

A third ordinance of Lycurgus was, that they ſhould not often make war againſt the ſame enemy, leſt, by being frequently put upon defending themſelves, they too ſhould become able warriors in their turn. And this they moſt blamed king Ageſilaus for afterwards, that by frequent and continued incurſions into Bœotia †, he taught the Thebans to make head againſt the Lacedæmonians. This made Antalcidas ſay, when he ſaw him wounded, *The Thebans pay you well for making them good ſoldiers, who neither were willing nor able to fight you before.* Theſe ordinances

* This is rendered by the former Engliſh tranſlator, as if Leotychidas's queſtion proceeded from ignorance, whereas it was really an arch ſneer upon the ſumptuous and expenſive buildings of Corinth.

† This appeared plainly at the battle of Leuctra, where the Lacedæmonians were overthrown by Epaminondas, and loſt their king Cleombrotus, together with the flower of their army.

dinances he called *Rhetræ*, as if they had been oracles and decrees of the Deity himſelf.

As for the education of youth, which he looked upon as the greateſt and moſt glorious work of a lawgiver, he began with it at the very ſource, taking into conſideration their conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For he did not (as Ariſtotle ſays) deſiſt from his attempt to bring the women under ſober rules. They had, indeed, aſſumed great liberty and power on account of the frequent expeditions of their huſbands, during which they were left ſole miſtreſſes at home, and ſo gained an undue deference and improper titles; but, notwithſtanding this, he took all poſſible care of them. He ordered the virgins to exerciſe themſelves in running, wreſtling, and throwing quoits and darts; that their bodies being ſtrong and vigorous, the children afterwards produced from them might be the ſame; and that, thus fortified by exerciſe, they might the better ſupport the pangs of child-birth, and be delivered with ſafety. In order to take away the exceſſive tenderneſs and delicacy of the ſex, the conſequence of a recluſe life, he accuſtomed the virgins occaſionally to be ſeen naked as well as the young men, and to dance and ſing in their preſence on certain feſtivals. There they ſometimes indulged in a little raillery upon thoſe that had miſbehaved themſelves, and ſometimes they ſung encomiums on ſuch as deſerved them, thus exciting in the young men an uſeful emulation and love of glory. For he who was praiſed for his bravery, and celebrated among the virgins, went away perfectly happy: while their ſatirical glances thrown out in ſport, were no leſs cutting than ſerious admonitions; eſpecially as the kings and ſenate went with the other citizens to ſee all that paſſed. As for the virgins appearing naked, there was nothing diſgraceful in it, becauſe every thing was conducted with modeſty, and without one indecent word or action. Nay it cauſed a ſimplicity of manners and an emulation for the beſt habit of body; their ideas too were naturally enlarged, while they were not excluded from their ſhare of bravery and honour. Hence they were furniſhed with ſentiments and language, ſuch as Gorgo the wife of Leonidas is ſaid to have made uſe of. When a woman of another country ſaid to her, *You of Lacedæmon are the only women in the world that rule the men;* ſhe anſwered, *We are the only women that bring forth men.*

 These

These public dances and other exercises of the young maidens naked, in sight of the young men, were, moreover, incentives to marriage; and, to use Plato's expression, drew them almost as necessarily by the attractions of love, as a geometrical conclusion follows from the premises. To encourage it still more, some marks of infamy were set upon those that continued bachelors *. For they were not permitted to see these exercises of the naked virgins: and the magistrates commanded them to march naked round the market-place in the winter, and to sing a song composed against themselves, which expressed how justly they were punished for their disobedience to the laws. They were also deprived of that honour and respect which the younger people paid to the old; so that nobody found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, though an eminent commander. It seems, when he came one day into company, a young man, instead of rising up and giving him place, told him, *You have no child to give place to me, when I am old.*

In their marriages, the bridegroom carried off the bride by violence; and she was never chosen in a tender age, but when she had arrived at full maturity. Then the woman that had the direction of the wedding, cut the bride's hair close to the skin, dressed her in man's clothes, laid her upon a mattrass, and left her in the dark. The bridegroom, neither opprest with wine nor enervated with luxury, but perfectly sober, as having always supped at the common table, went in privately, untied her girdle, and carried her to another bed. Having stayed there a short time, he modestly retired to his usual apartment, to sleep with the other young men: and he observed the same conduct afterwards, spending the day with his companions, and reposing himself with them in the night, nor even visiting his bride but with great caution and apprehensions of being discovered by the rest of the family; the bride at the same time exerted all her art to contrive convenient opportunities for their private meetings. And this they did not for a short time only, but some of them even

* The time of marriage was fixed; and, if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to a prosecution; as were such also who married above or below themselves. Such as had three children had great immunities; and those that had four were free from all taxes. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations.

even had children, before they had an interview with their wives in the day-time. This kind of commerce not only exercised their temperance and chastity, but kept their bodies fruitful, and the first ardour of their love fresh and unabated; for as they were not satiated like those that are always with their wives, there still was place for unextinguished desire. When he had thus established a proper regard to modesty and decorum with respect to marriage, he was equally studious to drive from that state the vain and womanish passion of jealousy; by making it quite as reputable to have children in common with persons of merit, as to avoid all offensive freedom in their own behaviour to their wives. He laughed at those who revenge with wars and bloodshed the communication of a married woman's favours; and allowed, that if a man in years should have a young wife, he might introduce to her some handsome and honest young man, whom he most approved of, and when she had a child of this generous race, bring it up as his own. On the other hand, he allowed, that if a man of character should entertain a passion for a married woman on account of her modesty and the beauty of her children, he might treat with her husband for admission to her company *, that so planting in a beauty-bearing soil, he might produce excellent children †, the congenial offspring of excellent parents. For in the first place, Lycurgus considered children, not so much the property of their parents, as of the state; and therefore he would not have them begot by ordinary persons, but by the best men in it. In the next place, he observed the vanity and absurdity of other nations, where people study to have their horses and dogs of the finest breed they can procure, either by interest or money; and yet keep their wives shut up, that they may have children by none but themselves, though they may happen to be doating, decrepid, or infirm. As if children, when sprung from a bad stock, and consequently good for nothing, were no detriment to those whom they belong to, and who have the trouble of bringing them up, nor any advantage, when well-descended and of a generous disposition. These regulations

* In this case the kings were excepted; for they were not at liberty to lend their wives.

† The English translation, published in 1758, has here, *to possess all the valuable qualifications of their parents*, which is not the meaning of αγαθων ὁμαιμȣς και συγγενεις εσομενȣς.

regulations tending to secure a healthy offspring, and consequently beneficial to the state, were so far from encouraging that licentiousness of the women which prevailed afterwards, that adultery was not known amongst them. A saying, upon this subject, of Geradas an ancient Spartan, is thus related. A stranger had asked him, *What punishment their law appointed for adulterers?* He answered, *My friend, there are no adulterers in our country.* The other replied, *But what, if there should be one?* *Why then*, says Geradas, *he must forfeit a bull so large that he might drink of the Eurotas from the top of Mount Taygetus.* When the stranger expressed his surprise at this, and said, *How can such a bull be found?* Geradas answered with a smile, *How can an adulterer be found in Sparta?* This is the account we have of their marriages.

It was not left to the father to rear what children he pleased, but he was obliged to carry the child to a place called *Lesche*, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the nine thousand shares of land: but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called *Apothetæ*, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus; concluding that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution *. For the same reason the women did not wash their new-born infants with water, but with wine, thus making some trial of their habit of body; imagining that sickly and epileptic children sink and die under the experiment, while the healthy become more vigorous and hardy. Great care and art was also exerted by the nurses; for, as they never swathed the infants, their limbs had a freer turn, and their countenances a more liberal air; besides, they used them to any sort of meat, to have no terrors in the dark, nor to be afraid of being alone, and to leave all ill-humour and unmanly crying. Hence

* The general expediency of this law may well be disputed, though it suited the martial constitution of Sparta; since many persons of weak constitutions make up in ingenuity what they want in strength, and so become more valuable members of the community than the most robust. It seems, however, to have had one good effect, *viz.* making women very careful during their pregnancy, of either eating, drinking, or exercising, to excess. It made them also excellent nurses, as is observed just below.

Hence people of other countries purchased Lacedæmonian nurses for their children; and Alcibiades the Athenian is said to have been nursed by Amycla a Spartan. But if he was fortunate in a nurse, he was not so in a preceptor; for Zopyrus, appointed to that office by Pericles, was, as Plato tells us, no better qualified than a common slave. The Spartan children were not in that manner, under tutors purchased or hired with money, nor were the parents at liberty to educate them as they pleased: But as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He who shewed the most conduct and courage amongst them, was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishments he inflicted: so that their whole education was an exercise of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle.

As for learning *, they had just what was absolutely necessary. All the rest of their education was calculated to make them subject to command, to endure labour, to fight and conquer. They added, therefore, to their discipline, as they advanced in age; cutting their hair very close, making them go barefoot, and play, for the most part,

* The plainness of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made the Lacedæmonians less fond of the sciences than the rest of the Greeks. If they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the Athenians, who were excessively vain of their learning, held them in great contempt; insomuch that Thucydides himself, in drawing the character of Brasidas, says, *he spoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian.* On this occasion, it is proper to mention the answer of a Spartan to a learned Athenian, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: *All you say may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the Greeks have learned no evil customs from you.* The Spartans, however, had a force and poignancy of expression, which cut down all the flowers of studied elegance. This was the consequence of their concise way of speaking, and their encouraging, on all occasions, decent repartee. Arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences. Theatrical diversions found no countenance; temperance and exercise made the physician unnecessary; their justice left no room for the practice of the lawyer; and all the trades that minister to luxury, were unknown. As for agriculture, and such mechanic business as was absolutely necessary, it was left to the slaves.

part, quite naked. At twelve years of age, their under garment was taken away, and but one upper one a year allowed them. Hence they were neceſſarily dirty in their perſons, and not indulged the great favour of baths and oil, except on ſome particular days of the year. They ſlept in companies, on beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands, without knives, and brought from the banks of the Eurotas. In winter they were permitted to add a little thiſtle-down, as that ſeemed to have ſome warmth in it.

At this age, the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them became favourite companions of the elder *; and the old men attended more conſtantly their places of exerciſe, obſerving their trials of ſtrength and wit, not ſlightly and in a curſory manner, but as their fathers, guardians, and governors: ſo that there was neither time nor place, where perſons were wanting to inſtruct and chaſtiſe them. One of the beſt and ableſt men in the city was, moreover, appointed inſpector of the youth: and he gave the command of each company to the diſcreeteſt and moſt ſpirited of thoſe called *Irens*. An *Iren* was one that had been two years out of the claſs of boys: a *Melliren* one of the oldeſt lads. This *Iren*, then, a youth twenty years old, gives orders to thoſe under his command, in their little battles, and has them to ſerve him at his houſe. He ſends the oldeſt of them to fetch wood, and the younger to gather pot-herbs: theſe they ſteal where they can find them †, either ſlyly getting into gardens, or elſe craftily and warily creeping

* Though the youth of the male-ſex were much cheriſhed and beloved, as thoſe that were to build up the future glory of the ſtate; yet, in Sparta, it was a virtuous and modeſt affection, untinged with that ſenſuality which was ſo ſcandalous at Athens and other places. Xenophon ſays, theſe lovers lived with thoſe they were attached to, as a father does with his children, or a brother with his brethren. The good effects of this part of Lycurgus's inſtitutions were ſeen in the union that reigned among the citizens.

† Not that the Spartans authoriſed thefts and robberies; for as all was in common in their republic, thoſe vices could have no place there. But the deſign was to accuſtom children who were deſtined for war, to ſurpriſe the vigilance of thoſe who watched over them, and to expoſe themſelves courageouſly to the ſevereſt puniſhments, in caſe they failed of that dexterity which was exacted of them. A dexterity that would have been attended with fatal effects to the morals of any youth but the Spartan, educated, as that was, to contemn riches and ſuperfluities, and guarded in all other reſpects by the ſevereſt virtue.

creeping to the common tables. But if any one be caught, he is ſeverely flogged for negligence or want of dexterity. They ſteal too whatever victuals they poſſibly can, ingeniouſly contriving to do it when perſons are aſleep, or keep but indifferent watch. If they are diſcovered, they are puniſhed not only with whipping, but with hunger. Indeed their ſupper is but ſlender at all times, that, to fence againſt want, they may be forced to exerciſe their courage and addreſs. This is the firſt intention of their ſpare diet: a ſubordinate one is, to make them grow tall. For when the animal ſpirits are not too much oppreſſed by a great quantity of food, which ſtretches itſelf out in breadth and thickneſs, they mount upwards by their natural lightneſs, and the body eaſily and freely ſhoots up in height. This alſo contributes to make them handſome: for thin and ſlender habits yield more freely to nature, which then gives a fine proportion to the limbs; whilſt the heavy and groſs reſiſt her by their weight. So women that take phyſic during their pregnancy, have ſlighter children indeed, but of a finer and more delicate turn, becauſe the ſuppleneſs of the matter more readily obeys the plaſtic power. However, theſe are ſpeculations which we ſhall leave to others.

The boys ſteal with ſo much caution, that one of them, having conveyed a young fox under his garment, ſuffered the creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, chooſing rather to die than to be detected. Nor does this appear incredible, if we conſider what their young men can indure to this day; for we have ſeen many of them expire under the laſh at the altar of * *Diana Orthia*.

The *Iren*, repoſing himſelf after ſupper, uſed to order one of the boys to ſing a ſong; to another he put ſome queſtion which required a judicious anſwer: for example, *Who was the beſt man in the city?* or, *What he thought of ſuch*

* This is ſuppoſed to be the Diana *Taurica*, whoſe ſtatue Oreſtes is ſaid to have brought to Lacedæmon, and to whom human victims were offered. It is pretended that Lycurgus aboliſhed theſe ſacrifices, and ſubſtituted in their room the flagellation of young men, with whoſe blood the altar was, at leaſt, to be ſprinkled. But, in truth, a deſire of overcoming all the weakneſſes of human nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only ſuperior to their neighbours, but to their ſpecies, runs through many of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impoſſible to give any account at all of ſome of them.

ſuch an action? This accuſtomed them from their childhood to judge of the virtues, to enter into the affairs of their contrymen. For if one of them was aſked, Who is a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and heſitated in his anſwer, he was conſidered as a boy of ſlow parts, and of a ſoul that would not aſpire to honour. The anſwer was likewiſe to have a reaſon aſſigned for it, and proof conceived in few words. He whoſe account of the matter was wrong, by way of puniſhment, had his thumb bit by the *Iren.* The old men and magiſtrates often attended theſe little trials, to ſee whether the *Iren* exerciſed his authority in a rational and proper manner. He was permitted, indeed, to inflict the penalties; but when the boys were gone, he was to be chaſtiſed himſelf, if he had puniſhed them either with too much ſeverity or remiſſneſs.

The adopters of favourites alſo ſhared both in the honour and diſgrace of their boys: and one of them is ſaid to have been mulcted by the magiſtrates, becauſe the boy whom he had taken into his affections, let ſome ungenerous word or cry eſcape him, as he was fighting. This love was ſo honourable and in ſo much eſteem, that the virgins too had their lovers amongſt the moſt virtuous matrons. A competition of affection cauſed no miſunderſtanding, but rather a mutual friendſhip between thoſe that had fixed their regards upon the ſame youth, and an united endeavour to make him as accompliſhed as poſſible.

The boys were alſo taught to uſe ſharp repartee, ſeaſoned with humour, and whatever they ſaid was to be conciſe and pithy. For Lycurgus, as we have obſerved, fixed but a ſmall value on a conſiderable quantity of his iron money; but on the contrary, the worth of ſpeech was to conſiſt in its being compriſed in a few plain words, pregnant with a great deal of ſenſe: and he contrived that by long ſilence they might learn to be ſententious and accute in their replies. As debauchery often cauſes weakneſs and ſterility in the body, ſo the intemperance of the tongue makes converſation empty and inſipid. King Agis, therefore, when a certain Athenian laughed at the Lacedæmonian ſhort ſwords, and ſaid, *The jugglers would ſwallow them with eaſe upon the ſtage,* anſwered in his Laconic way, *And yet we can reach our enemies hearts with them.* Indeed, to me there ſeems to be ſomething in this conciſe

concise manner of speaking, which immediately reaches the object aimed at, and forcibly strikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himself was short and sententious in his discourse, if we may judge by some of his answers which are recorded; that, for instance, concerning the constitution. When one advised him to established a popular government in Lacedæmon, *Go*, said he, *and first make a trial of it in thy own family*. That again, concerning sacrifices to the Deity, when he was asked why he appointed them so trifling and of so little value, *That we may never be in want*, says he, *of something to offer him*. Once more, when they inquired of him, what sort of martial exercises he allowed of, he answered, *All, except those in which you stretch* * *out your hands*. Several such-like replies of his are said to be taken from the letters which he wrote to his countrymen: as to their question, "How shall we best guard against the invasion "of an enemy?" *By continuing poor, and not desiring in your possessions to be one above another*. And to the question, whether they should inclose Sparta with walls, *That city is well fortified, which has a wall of men instead of brick*. Whether these and some other letters ascribed to him are genuine or not, is no easy matter to determine. However, that they hated long speeches, the following apophthegms are a farther proof. King Leonidas said to one who discoursed at an improper time about affairs of some concern, *My friend, you should not talk so much to the purpose, of what it is not to the purpose to talk of*. Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered, *To men of few words few laws are sufficient*. Some people finding fault with Hecatæus the sophist, because when admitted to one of the public repasts, he said nothing all the time, Archidamidas replied, *He who knows how to speak, knows also when to speak*.

The manner of their repartees, which, as I said, were seasoned with humour, may be gathered from these instances. When a troublesome fellow was pestering Demaratus with impertinent questions, and this in particular several times repeated, "Who is the best man in Sparta?" He answered, *He that is least like you*. To some who were commending the Eleans for managing the Olympic games

* This was the form of demanding quarter in battle.

games with ſo much juſtice and propriety, Agis ſaid, *What great matter is it, if the Eleans do juſtice once in five years?* When a ſtranger was profeſſing his regard for Theopompus, and ſaying that his own countrymen called him *Philolacon,* (a lover of the Lacedæmonians) the king anſwered him, *My good friend, it were much better, if they called you Philopolites* (a lover of your own countrymen). Pliſtonax, the ſon of Pauſanias, replied to an orator of Athens, who ſaid the Lacedæmonians had no learning, *True, for we are the only people of Greece that have learnt no ill of you.* To one who aſked what number of men there was in Sparta, Archidamidas ſaid, *Enough to keep bad men at a diſtance.*

Even when they indulged a vein of pleſantry, one might perceive, that they would not uſe one unneceſſary word, nor let an expreſſion eſcape them that had not ſome ſenſe worth attending to. For one being aſked to go and hear a perſon who imitated the nightingale to perfection, anſwered, *I have heard the nightingale herſelf.* Another ſaid, upon reading this epitaph,

> Victims of Mars, at Selinus they fell,
> Who quench'd the rage of tyranny.——

"And they deſerved to fall, for, inſtead of *quenching* it, "they ſhould have let it *burn out.*" A young man anſwered one that promiſed him ſome game cocks that would ſtand their death, *Give me thoſe that will be the death of others.* Another ſeeing ſome people carried into the country in litters ſaid, *May I never ſit in any place where I cannot riſe before the aged!* This was the manner of their apophthegms: ſo that it has been juſtly enough obſerved that the term *lakonizein* (to act the Lacedæmonian) is to be referred rather to the exerciſes of the mind, than thoſe of the body.

Nor were poetry and muſic leſs cultivated among them, than a conciſe dignity of expreſſion. Their ſongs had a ſpirit, which could rouſe the ſoul, and impel it in an enthuſiaſtic manner to action. The language was plain and manly, the ſubject ſerious and moral. For they conſiſted chiefly of the praiſes of heroes that had died for Sparta, or elſe of expreſſions of deteſtation for ſuch wretches as had declined the glorious opportunity, and rather choſe to drag on life in miſery and contempt. Nor did they forget to expreſs an ambition for glory

ſuitable

ſuitable to their reſpective ages. Of this it may not be amiſs to give an inſtance. There were three choirs on their feſtivals, correſponding with the three ages of man. The old men began,

> Once in battle bold we ſhone;

the young men anſwerd,

> Try us; our vigour is not gone;

and the boys concluded,

> The palm remains for us alone.

Indeed, if we conſider with ſome attention ſuch of the Lacedæmonian poems as are ſtill extant, and get into thoſe airs which were played upon the flute when they marched to battle, we muſt agree, that Terpander * and Pindar have very fitly joined valour and muſic together. The former thus ſpeaks of Lacedæmon,

> There gleam's the youth's bright falchion; there the muſe
> Lifts her ſweet voice; there awful Juſtice opes
> Her wide pavilion.

And Pindar ſings,

> There in grave council ſits the ſage;
> There burns the youth's reſiſtleſs rage
> To hurl the quiv'ring lance;
> The muſe with glory crowns their arms,
> And Melody exerts her charms,
> And Pleaſure leads the dance.

Thus we are informed, not only of their warlike turn, but their ſkill in muſic. For, as the Spartan poet ſays,

> To ſwell the bold notes of the lyre,
> Becomes the warrior's lofty fire.

And the king always offered ſacrifice to the † muſes before a battle, putting his troops in mind, I ſuppoſe, of their early education and of the judgment that would be

* Terpander was a poet and muſician too, (as indeed they of thoſe times were in general) who added three ſtrings to the harp, which till then had but four. He flouriſhed about a hundred and twenty years after Homer.

† Xenophon ſays, the king who commanded the army, ſacrificed to Jupiter and Minerva on the frontier of his kingdom. Probably the muſes were joined with Minerva the patroneſs of ſcience.

be paſt upon them; as well as that thoſe divinities might teach them to deſpiſe danger, while they performed ſome exploit fit for *them* to celebrate.

On thoſe occaſions * they relaxed the ſeverity of their diſcipline, permitting their men to be curious in dreſſing their hair, and elegant in their arms and apparel, while they expreſſed their alacrity, like horſes full of fire, and neighing for the race. They let their hair, therefore, grow from their youth, but took more particular care, when they expected an action, to have it well-combed and ſhining; remembering a ſaying of Lycurgus, that *a large head of hair made the handſome more graceful, and the ugly more terrible.* The exerciſes, too, of the young men, during the campaigns, were more moderate, their diet not ſo hard, and their whole treatment more indulgent: ſo that they were the only people in the world, with whom military diſcipline wore, in time of war, a gentler face than uſual. When the army was drawn up, and the enemy near, the king ſacrificed a goat, and commanded them all to ſet garlands upon their heads, and the muſicians to play *Caſtor's* march, while himſelf began the *pæan*, which was the ſignal to advance. It was at once a ſolemn and dreadful ſight, to ſee them meaſuring their ſteps to the ſound of muſic, and without the leaſt diſorder in their ranks or tumult of ſpirits, moving forward chearfully and compoſedly, with harmony, to battle. Neither fear nor raſhneſs was likely to approve men ſo diſpoſed, poſſeſſed as they were of a firm preſence of mind, with courage and confidence of ſucceſs, as under the conduct of heaven. When the king advanced againſt the enemy, he had always with him ſome one that had been crowned in the public games of Greece. And they tell us, that a Lacedæmonian, when large ſums were offered him on condition

* The true reaſon of this was, in all probability, that war might be leſs burthenſome to them; for to render them bold and warlike was the reigning paſſion of their legiſlator. Under this article we may add, that they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the ſame place, as well to hinder their being ſurpriſed, as that they might be more troubleſome to their enemies, by waſting every corner of their country. They were alſo forbidden to fight the ſame enemy often. They ſlept all night in their armour; but their out-guards were not allowed their ſhields, that, being unprovided of defence, they might not dare to ſleep. In all expeditions they were careful in the performance of religious rites; and, after their evening meal was over, the ſoldiers ſung together hymns to their gods.

condition that he would not enter the Olympic liſts, refuſed them: having with much difficulty thrown his antagoniſt, one put this queſtion to him, "Spartan, what "will you get by this victory?" He anſwered with a ſmile, *I ſhall have the honour to fight foremoſt in the ranks, before my prince.* When they had routed the enemy, they continued the purſuit till they were aſſured of the victory: after that, they immediately deſiſted; deeming it neither generous nor worthy of a Grecian, to deſtroy thoſe who made no farther reſiſtance. This was not only a proof of magnanimity, but of great ſervice to their cauſe. For when their adverſaries found that they killed ſuch as ſtood it out, but ſpared the fugitives, they concluded it was better to fly than to meet their fate upon the ſpot.

Hippias the ſophiſt tells us, that Lycurgus himſelf was a man of great perſonal valour, and an experienced commander*. Philoſtephanus alſo aſcribes to him the firſt diviſion of the cavalry into troops of fifty, who were drawn up in a ſquare body. But Demetrius the Phalerean ſays, that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundeſt peace imaginable when he eſtabliſhed the conſtitution of Sparta. His providing for a ceſſation of arms during the Olympic games, is likewiſe a mark of the humane and peaceable man. Some, however, acquaint us, and, among the reſt, Hermippus, that Lycurgus at firſt had no communication with Iphitus; but coming that way, and happening to be a ſpectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought) which expreſſed ſome wonder and diſpleaſure that he did not put his countrymen upon reſorting to ſo great an aſſembly. He turned round immediately, to diſcover whence the voice came, and as there was no man to be ſeen, concluded it was from heaven. He joined Iphitus, therefore; and ordering, along with him, the ceremonies of the feſtival, rendered it more magnificent and laſting.

The diſcipline of the Lacedæmonians continued after they were arrived at years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleaſed, the city being like one great camp, where all had their ſtated allowance, and knew their public charge, *each man concluding that he was born,*

* Xenophon, in his treatiſe of the Spartan commonwealth, ſays, Lycurgus brought military diſcipline to great perfection, and gives us a detail of his regulations and improvements in the art of war; ſome of which I have mentioned in the foregoing note.

born, not for himself, but for his country. Hence, if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys, and teaching them something useful, or in learning of those that were older than themselves. One of the greatest privileges that Lycurgus procured his countrymen, was, the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanic trade. It was not worth their while to take great pains to raise a fortune, since riches there were of no account: and the *helotes*, who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce above-mentioned. To this purpose we have a story of a Lacedæmonian, who happening to be at Athens while the court sat, was informed of a man who was fined for idleness; and when the poor fellow was returning home in great dejection, attended by his condoling friends, he desired the company to shew him the person that was *condemned for keeping up his dignity.* So much beneath them they reckoned all attention to mechanic arts and all desire of riches!

Law-suits were banished from Lacedæmon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Hence when they were not engaged in war, their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise, or converse. They went not to market under thirty years of age*, all their necessary concerns being managed by their relations and adopters. Nor was it reckoned a credit to the old to be seen sauntering in the market-place; it was deemed more suitable for them to pass great part of the day in the schools of exercise, or places of conversation. Their discourse seldom turned upon money or business or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless; and the last was expressed with that pleasantry and humour, which conveyed instruction and correction without seeming to intend it. Nor was Lycurgus himself immoderately severe in his manner; but, as Sosibius tells us, he dedicated a little statue to the god of laughter, in each hall. He considered facetiousness

* This also is said to have been the age when they began to serve in the army. But as they were obliged to forty years service before the law exempted them from going into the field, I incline to the opinion of those writers who think that the military age is not well ascertained.

facetiousness as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, and therefore ordered it to take place on all proper occasions, in their common entertainments and parties of pleasure.

Upon the whole, he taught his citizens to think nothing more disagreeable than to live by (or for) themselves. Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the public good, and always assembled about their prince. They were possessed with a thirst of honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country. These sentiments are confirmed by some of their aphorisms. When Pædaretus lost his election for one of the *three hundred*, he went away *rejoicing that there were three hundred better men than himself found in the city**. Pisistratidas going with some others, ambassador to the king of Persia's liutenants, was asked whether they came with a public commission, or on their own account; to which he answered, *If successful, for the public; if unsuccessful, for ourselves.* Agrileonis, the mother of Barsidas†, asking some Amphipolitans that waited upon her at her house, whether Brasidas died honourably and as became a Spartan; they greatly extolled his merit, and said, there was not such a man left in Sparta: whereupon she replied, *Say not so, my friends; for Brasidas was indeed a man of honour, but Lacedæmon can boast of many better men than he.*

The senate, as I said before, consisted at first of those that were assistants to Lycurgus in his great enterprize. Afterwards, to fill up any vacancy that might happen, he ordered the most worthy man to be selected, of those that were full threescore years old. This was the most respectable dispute in the world, and the contest was truly glorious: for it was not who should be swiftest among the swift, or strongest of the strong, but who was the wisest and best among the good and wise. He who had the preference was to bear this mark of superior excellence through life, this great authority, which put into his hands the lives

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* Xenophon says, it was the custom for the *ephori* to appoint three officers, each of whom was to select an hundred men, the best he could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of these three hundred.

† Brasidas the Lacedæmonian general defeated the Athenians in a battle fought near Amphipolis a town of Macedonia on the banks of the Strymon, but lost his life in the action. Thucydid. *lib.* v.

and honour of the citizens, and every other important affair. The manner of the election was this. When the people were assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose were shut up in a room near the place; where they could neither see nor be seen, and only hear the shouts of the constituents*: for by them they decided this and most other affairs. Each candidate walked silently through the assembly, one after another according to lot. Those that were shut up had writing tables, in which they set down in different columns the number and loudness of the shouts, without knowing who they were for; only they marked them as first, second, third, and so on, according to the number of competitors. He that had the most and loudest acclamations, was declared duly elected. Then he was crowned with a garland, and went round to give thanks to the gods; a number of young men followed, striving which should extol him most, and the women celebrated his virtues in their songs, and blessed his worthy life and conduct. Each of his relations offered him a repast, and their address on the occasion was, *Sparta honours you with this collation.* When he had finished the procession, he went to the common table, and lived as before. Only two portions were set before him, one of which he carried away: and as all the women related to him attended at the gates of the public hall, he called her for whom he had the greatest esteem, and presented her with the portion, saying at the same time, *That which I received as a mark of honour, I give to you.* Then she was conducted home with great applause by the rest of the women.

Lycurgus likewise made good regulations with respect to burials. In the first place, to take away all superstition, he ordered the dead to be buried in the city, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples; accustoming the youth to such sights from their infancy, that they might have no uneasiness from them, nor any horror for death, as if people were polluted with the touch of a dead body, or with treading upon a grave. In the next place, he suffered nothing to be buried with the

* As this was a tumultuary and uncertain way of deciding who had the majority, they were often obliged to separate the people and count the votes. Aristotle thinks that in such a case persons should not offer themselves candidates, or solicit the office or employment, but be called to it merely for their abilities and their merit.

the corpſe, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapt*. Nor would he ſuffer the relations to inſcribe any names upon the tombs, except of thoſe men that fell in battle, or thoſe women who died in ſome ſacred office. He fixed eleven days for the time of mourning: on the twelfth they were to put an end to it after offering ſacrifice to Ceres. No part of life was left vacant and unimproved, but even with their neceſſary actions he interwove the praiſe of virtue and the contempt of vice: and he ſo filled the city with living examples, that it was next to impoſſible, for perſons who had theſe from their infancy before their eyes, not to be drawn and formed to honour.

For the ſame reaſon he would not permit all that deſired it, to go abroad and ſee other countries, leſt they ſhould contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little diſcipline, and of a different form of government. He forbad ſtrangers too†, to reſort to Sparta, who could not aſſign a good reaſon for their coming; not, as Thucydides ſays, out of fear they ſhould imitate the conſtitution of that city, and make improvements in virtue, but leſt they ſhould teach his own people ſome evil. For along with foreigners come new ſubjects of diſcourſe‡; new diſcourſe produces new opinions; and from theſe there neceſſarily ſpring new paſſions and deſires, which, like diſcords in muſic, would diſturb the eſtabliſhed government. He, therefore, thought it more expedient for the city, to keep out of it corrupt cuſtoms and manners, than even to prevent the introduction of a peſtilence.

Thus far, then, we can perceive no veſtiges of a diſregard to right and wrong, which is the fault ſome people find with the laws of Lycurgus, allowing them well enough

* Ælian tells us (l. vi. c. 6.) that not all the citizens indifferently were buried in the red cloth and olive leaves, but only ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves particularly in the field.

† He received with pleaſure ſuch ſtrangers as came and ſubmitted to his laws, and aſſigned them ſhares of land, which they could not alienate. Indeed, the lots of all the citizens were unalienable.

‡ Xenophon, who was an eye-witneſs, imputes the changes in the Spartan diſcipline to foreign manners. But in fact they had a deeper root. When the Lacedæmonians, inſtead of keeping to their lawgiver's injunction, only to defend their own country, and to make no conqueſts, carried their victorious arms over all Greece and into Aſia itſelf, then foreign gold and foreign manners came into Sparta, corrupted the ſimplicity of its inſtitutions, and at laſt overturned that republic.

enough calculated to produce valour, but not to promote juſtice. Perhaps it was the *Cryptia**, as they called it, or *ambuſcade*, if that was really one of this lawgiver's inſtitutions, as Ariſtotle ſays it was, which gave Plato ſo bad an impreſſion both of Lycurgus and his laws. The governors of the youth ordered the ſhrewdeſt of them from time to time to diſperſe themſelves in the country, provided only with daggers and ſome neceſſary proviſions. In the day-time they hid themſelves, and reſted in the moſt private places they could find, but at night they ſallied out into the roads and killed all the *Helotes* they could meet with. Nay, ſometimes by day, they fell upon them in the fields, and murdered the ableſt and ſtrongeſt of them. Thucydides relates in his hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, that the Spartans ſelected ſuch of them as were diſtinguiſhed for their courage, to the number of two thouſand or more, declared them free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods; but ſoon after they all diſappeared; and no one could, either then or ſince, give account in what manner they were deſtroyed. Ariſtotle particularly ſays, that the *ephori*, as ſoon as they were inveſted in their office, declared war againſt the *Helotes*, that they might be maſſacred under pretence of law. In other reſpects they treated them

* The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians towards the *Helotes*, is frequently ſpoken of, and generally decried by all authors; though Plutarch, who was a great admirer of the Spartans, endeavours to palliate it as much as may be. Theſe poor wretches were marked out for ſlaves in their dreſs, their geſture, and, in ſhort, in every thing. They wore dog-ſkin bonnets and ſheep-ſkin veſts: they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their maſters. Once a day they received a certain number of ſtripes, for fear they ſhould forget they were ſlaves: and, to crown all, they were liable to this *cryptia*, which was ſure to be executed on all ſuch as ſpoke, looked, or walked like freemen; a cruel and unneceſſary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people. The *ephori*, indeed, declared war againſt them. Againſt whom? why, againſt poor naked ſlaves, who tilled their lands, dreſſed their food, and did all thoſe offices for them, which they were too proud to do for themſelves. Plutarch, according to cuſtom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus; and alleges that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the Meſſenians after a terrible earthquake, that happened about 467 years before the birth of Chriſt, whereby a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown, and in which above twenty thouſand Spartans periſhed. But Ælian tells us expreſsly, (Hiſt. Var. l. iii.) that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating theſe *Helotes* with ſuch inhumanity.

them with great inhumanity: sometimes they made them drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls, to shew the young men what drunkenness was. They ordered them too to sing mean songs, and to dance ridiculous dances, but not to meddle with any that were genteel and graceful. Thus they tell us, that when the Thebans afterwards invaded Laconia, and took a great number of the Helotes prisoners, they ordered them to sing the odes of Terpander, Aleman, or Spendon the Lacedæmonian, but they excused themselves, alleging that it was forbidden by their masters. Those who say, that a freeman in Sparta was most a freeman, and a slave most a slave, seem well to have considered the difference of states. But in my opinion, it was in after-times that these cruelties took place among the Lacedæmonians; chiefly after the great earthquake, when, as history informs us, the *Helotes*, joining the Messenians, attacked them, did infinite damage to the country, and brought the city to the greatest extremity. I can never ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable an act as that of the *ambuscade*. I would judge in this case by the mildness and justice which appeared in the rest of his conduct, to which also the gods gave their sanction.

When his principal institutions had taken root in the manners of the people, and the government was come to such maturity as to be able to support and preserve itself, then, as Plato says of the Deity, that he rejoiced when he had created the world, and given it its first motion; so Lycurgus was charmed with the beauty and greatness of his political establishment, when he saw it exemplified in fact and move on in due order. He was next desirous to make it immortal, so far as human wisdom could effect it, and to deliver it down unchanged to the latest times. For this purpose he assembled all the people, and told them, the provisions he had already made for the state were indeed sufficient for virtue and happiness, but the greatest and most important matter was still behind, which he could not disclose to them till he had consulted the oracle; that they must therefore inviolably observe his laws, without altering any thing in them, till he returned from Delphi; and then he would acquaint them with the pleasure of Apollo. When they had all promised to do so, and desired him to set forward, he took an oath of the kings and senators, and afterwards of all the citizens,

zens, that they would abide by the present establishment till Lycurgus came back. He then took his journey to Delphi.

When he arrived there, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and consulted the oracle, whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue, and secure the happiness of the state. Apollo answered, that the laws were excellent, and that the city which kept to the constitution he had established would be the most glorious in the world. This oracle Lycurgus took down in writing, and sent it to Sparta. He then offered another sacrifice, and embraced his friends and his son, determined never to release his citizens from their oath, but voluntarily there to put a period to his life*; while he was yet of an age when life was not a burden, when death was not desirable, and while he was not unhappy in any one circumstance. He, therefore, destroyed himself by abstaining from food, persuaded that the very death of lawgivers should have its use, and their exit, so far from being insignificant, have its share of virtue and be considered as a great action. To him indeed whose performances were so illustrious, the conclusion of life was the crown of happiness, and his death was left guardian of those invaluable blessings he had procured his countrymen through life, as they had taken an oath not to depart from his establishment till his return†. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Sparta continued superior to the rest of Greece both in its government at home and reputation abroad, so long as it retained the institution of Lycurgus; and this it did during the space of five hundred years, and the reign of fourteen successive kings down to Agis the son of Archidamus. As for the appointment of the *ephori*, it was so far from weakening the constitution, that it gave it additional vigour, and though it seemed to be established in favour of the people, it strengthened the aristocracy.

But in the reign of Agis money found its way into Sparta, and with money came its inseparable attendant, avarice. This was by means of Lysander; who, though himself

* Yet Lucian says that Lycurgus died at the age of 85.

† After all this pompous account, Plutarch himself acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how and where this great man died. That he starved himself is improbable; but that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting, as well as to the current of history.

himself incapable of being corrupted by money, filled his country with the love of it and with luxury too. He brought both gold and silver from the wars*, and thereby broke through the laws of Lycurgus. While these were in force, Sparta was not so much under the political regulations of a commonwealth, as the strict rules of a philosophic life: and as the poets feign of Hercules, that only with a club and lion's skin he travelled over the world, clearing it of lawless ruffians and cruel tyrants; so the Lacedæmonians with a piece of † parchment and coarse coat kept Greece in a voluntary obedience, destroyed usurpation and tyranny in the states, put an end to wars, and laid seditions asleep, very often without either shield or lance, and only by sending one ambassador; to whose directions all parties concerned immediately submitted. Thus bees, when their prince appears, compose their quarrels and unite in one swarm. So much did justice and good government prevail in that state, that I am surprised at those who say, the Lacedæmonians knew indeed how to obey, but not how to govern; and on this occasion quote the saying of king Theopompus, who, when one told him, that *Sparta was preserved by the good administration of its kings*, replied, *Nay, rather by the obedience of their subjects.* It is certain that people will not continue

* Xenophon acquaints us, that when Lysander had taken Athens, he sent to Sparta many rich spoils and 470 talents of silver. The coming of this huge mass of wealth created great disputes at Sparta. Many celebrated Lysander's praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion: they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of Lycurgus; and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that, in process of time, they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth. The event justified their fears.

† This was the *scytale*, the nature and use of which Plutarch explains in the life of Lysander. He tells us, that when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness; (Thucydides adds, that they were smooth and long;) one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer. When they had any thing of moment, which they would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business on it: when they had wrote what they had to say, they took off the parchment, and sent it to the general; and he applying it to his own staff, the characters, which before were confused and unintelligible, appeared then very plainly.

tinue pliant to those who know not how to command: but it is the part of a good governor to teach obedience. He who knows how to lead well, is sure to be well followed: and as it is by the art of horsemanship that a horse is made gentle and tractable, so it is by the abilities of him that fills the throne that the people become ductile and submissive. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people did not only endure, but even desired to be their subjects. They asked not of them, either ships, money, or troops, but only a Spartan general. When they had received him, they treated him with the greatest honour and respect: so Gylippus was revered by the Sicilians, Brasidas by the Chalcidians, Lysander, Callicratidas and Agesilaus by all the people of Asia. These, and such as these, wherever they came, were called moderators and reformers, both of the magistrates and people, and Sparta itself was considered as a school of discipline, where the beauty of life and political order were taught in the utmost perfection. Hence Stratonicus seems facetiously enough to have said, that he would order *the Athenians to have the conduct of mysteries and processions; the Eleans to preside in games, as their particular province; and the Lacedæmonians to be beaten, if the others did amiss**. This was spoken in jest: but Antisthenes, one of the scholars of Socrates, said (more seriously) of the Thebans, when he saw them pluming themselves upon their success at Leuctra, *They were just like so many school-boys rejoicing that they had beaten their master.*

It was not, however, the principal design of Lycurgus. that his city should govern many others, but he considered its *happiness*, like that of a private man, as *flowing from virtue and self-consistency*; he therefore so ordered and disposed it, that by the freedom and sobriety of its inhabitants, and their having a sufficiency within themselves, its continuance might be the more secure. Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and other writers upon government, have taken Lycurgus for their model; and these have attained great praise, though they left only an idea of something excellent.

* Because the teachers should be answerable for the faults of their pupils. The pleasantry of the observation seems to be this, That as the Lacedæmonians used to punish the parents or adopters of those young people that behaved amiss; now that they were the instructors of other nations, they should suffer for their faults. Bryan's Latin text has it, that the Lacedæmonians *should beat them.*—But there is no joke in that.

lent. Yet he who not in idea and in words, but in fact produced a most inimitable form of government, and by shewing a whole city of philosophers *, confounded those who imagine that the so much talked of strictness of a philosophic life is impracticable; he, I say, stands in the rank of glory far before the founders of all the other Grecian states †. Therefore Aristotle is of opinion, that the honours paid him in Lacedæmon were far beneath his merit. Yet those honours were very great; for he has a temple there, and they offer him a yearly sacrifice, as a god. It is also said, that when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck with lightening: a seal of divinity which no other man, however eminent, has had, except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. This was matter of great satisfaction and triumph to the friends of Euripides, that the same thing should befal him after death, which had formerly happened to the most venerable of men, and the most favoured of heaven. Some say, Lycurgus died at Cirrha; but Apollothemis will have it, that he was brought to Elis and died there; and Timæus and Aristoxenus write, that he ended his days in Crete; nay, Aristoxenus adds, that the Cretans shew his tomb at Pergamia, near the high road. We are told, he left an only son named Antiorus: and as he died without issue, the family was extinct. His friends and relations observed his anniversary, which subsisted for many ages, and the days on which they met for that purpose they called *Lycurgidæ*. Aristocrates, the son of Hipparchus, relates, that the friends of Lycurgus, with whom he sojourned, and at last died in Crete, burned his body, and, at his request, threw his ashes into the sea. Thus he guarded against the possibility of his remains being

* Aristotle and Plato differ in this from Plutarch. Even Polybius, who was so great an admirer of the Spartan government, allows, that, though the Spartans, considered as individuals, were wise and virtuous, yet in their collective capacity they paid but little regard to justice and moderation.

† Solon, though a person of a different temper, was no less disinterested than Lycurgus. He settled the Athenian commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his opposition vain, went into voluntary exile. Lycurgus and Solon were both great men; but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder genius; the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

ing brought back to Sparta by the Lacedæmonians, lest they should then think themselves released from their oath, on the pretence that he was returned, and make innovations in the government. This is what we had to say of Lycurgus.

NUMA.

THERE is likewise a great diversity amongst historians about the time in which king Numa lived, though some families seem to trace their genealogy up to him with sufficient accuracy. However, a certain writer called Clodius, in his emendations of chronology, affirms, that the ancient archives were destroyed when Rome was sacked by the Gauls; and that those which are now shewn as such, were forged in favour of some persons who wanted to stretch their lineage far back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses. Some say, that Numa was the scholar of Pythagoras *; but others contend, that he was unacquainted with the Grecian literature, either alleging, that his own genius was sufficient to conduct him to excellence, or that he was instructed by some *barbarian* philosopher superior to Pythagoras. Some, again, affirm, that Pythagoras of Samos flourished about five generations below the times of Numa: but that Pythagoras the Spartan, who won the prize at the Olympic race in the sixteenth Olympiad, (about the third year of which it was that Numa came to the throne) travelling into Italy, became acquainted with that prince, and assisted him in regulating the government. Hence many Spartan customs, taught by Pythagoras, were intermixed with the Roman. But this mixture might have another cause, as Numa was of Sabine extraction, and the Sabines declare themselves to have been a Lacedæmonian colony †. It is difficult, however,

* Pythagoras the philosopher went not into Italy till the reign of the elder Tarquin, which was in the fifty-first Olympiad, and four generations (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us) after Numa.

† The same Dionysius informs us, that he found in the history of the Sabines, that, while Lycurgus was guardian to his nephew Eunomus, (Charilaus it should be), some of the Lacedæmonians, unable to endure the severity of his laws, fled into Italy, and settled first at Pometia; from whence several of them removed into the country of the

however, to adjuſt the times exactly, particularly thoſe that are only diſtinguiſhed with the names of the Olympic conquerors; of which, we are told, Hippias, the Elean, made a collection at a late period, without ſufficient vouchers. We ſhall now relate what we have met with moſt remarkable concerning Numa, beginning from that point of time which is moſt ſuitable to our purpoſe.

It was in the thirty-ſeventh year from the building of Rome, and of the reign of Romulus, on the ſeventh of the month of July (which day is now called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*) when that prince went out of the city to offer a ſolemn ſacrifice at a place called the *Goats-Marſh*, in the preſence of the ſenate and great part of the people. Suddenly there happened a great alteration in the air, and the clouds burſt in a ſtorm of wind and hail. The reſt of the aſſembly were ſtruck with terror and fled, but Romulus diſappeared, and could not be found either alive or dead. Upon this, the ſenators fell under a violent ſuſpicion, and a report was propagated againſt them among the people, that having long been weary of the yoke of kingly government, and deſirous to get the power into their own hands, they had murdered the king. Particularly as he had treated them for ſome time in an arbitrary and imperious manner. But they found means to obviate this ſuſpicion, by paying divine honours to Romulus as a perſon that had been privileged from the fate of other mortals, and was only removed to a happier ſcene. Moreover, Proculus, a man of high rank, made oath that he ſaw Romulus carried up to heaven in complete armour, and heard a voice commanding that he ſhould be called *Quirinus*.

Freſh diſturbances and tumults aroſe in the city about the election of a new king, the later inhabitants being not yet thoroughly incorporated with the firſt, the commonalty fluctuating and unſettled in itſelf, and the patricians full of animoſity and jealouſies of each other. All, indeed, agreed that a king ſhould be appointed, but they differed and debated, not only about the perſon to be fixed upon, but from which of the two nations he ſhould be elected. For neither could they who with Romulus

the Sabines, and, uniting with that people, taught them their cuſtoms; particularly thoſe relating to the conduct of war, to fortitude, patience, and a frugal and abſtemious manner of living. This colony, then, ſettled in Italy 120 years before the birth of Numa.

mulus built the city, endure, that the Sabines, who had been admitted citizens, and obtained a ſhare of the lands, ſhould attempt to command thoſe from whom they had received ſuch privileges; nor yet could the Sabines depart from their claim of giving a king in their turn to Rome, having this good argument in their favour, that, upon the death of Tatius, they had ſuffered Romulus peaceably to enjoy the throne, without a colleague. It was alſo to be conſidered, that they did not come as inferiors to join a ſuperior people, but by their rank and number added ſtrength and dignity to the city that received them. Theſe were the arguments on which they founded their claims. Leſt this diſpute ſhould produce an utter confuſion, whilſt there was no king, nor any ſteerſman at the helm, the ſenators made an order that the hundred and fifty members who compoſed their body *, ſhould each, in their turns, be attired in the robes of ſtate; in the room of *Quirinus*, offer the ſtated ſacrifices to the gods, and deſpatch the whole public buſineſs, ſix hours in the day, and ſix hours at night. This diſtribution of time, ſeemed well contrived, in point of equality amongſt the regents, and the change of power from hand to hand prevented its being obnoxious to the people, who ſaw the ſame perſon in one day and one night reduced from a king to a private man. This occaſional adminiſtration the Romans call an *Interregnum*.

But though the matter was managed in this moderate and popular way, the ſenators could not eſcape the ſuſpicions and complaints of the people, that they were changing the government into an oligarchy, and, as they had the direction of all affairs in their hands, were unwilling to have a king. At laſt it was agreed between the two parties, that one nation ſhould chooſe a king out of the whole body of the other. This was conſidered as the

* According to our author in the life of Romulus, the number of the ſenators was 200. Indeed, Dionyſius ſays, that writers differed in this particular, ſome affirming, that 100 ſenators were added to the original number upon the union of the Sabines with the Romans; and others, that only fifty were added. Livy gives the moſt probable account of the manner of the *Interregnum*. The ſenators, he ſays, divided themſelves into decuries or tens. Theſe decuries drew lots which ſhould govern firſt; and the decury, to whoſe lot it fell, enjoyed the ſupreme authority for five days; yet, in ſuch a manner, that one perſon only of the governing decury had the enſigns of ſovereignty at a time.

the best means of putting a stop to the present contention, and of inspiring the king with an affection for both parties, since he would be gracious to these, because they had elected him, and to those as his kindred and countrymen. The Sabines leaving the Romans to their option, they preferred a Sabine king of their own electing, to a Roman chosen by the Sabines. Consulting, therefore, among themselves *, they fixed upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, who was not of the number of those that had migrated to Rome, but so celebrated for virtue, that the Sabines received the nomination even with greater applause than the Romans themselves. When they had acquainted the people with their resolution, they sent the most eminent personages of both nations ambassadors, to intreat him to come and take upon him the government.

Numa was of Cures, a considerable city of the Sabines, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the name of *Quirites*. He was the son of a person of distinction named Pomponius, and the youngest of four brothers. It seemed to be by the direction of the gods, that he was born the twenty-first of April, the same day that Rome was founded by Romulus. His mind was naturally disposed to virtue; and he still farther subdued it by discipline, patience, and philosophy; not only purging it of the grosser and more infamous passions, but even of that ambition and rapaciousness which was reckoned honourable amongst the *barbarians*; persuaded that true fortitude consists in the conquest of appetites by reason. On this account, he banished all luxury and splendor from his house; and both the citizens and strangers found in him a faithful counsellor, and an upright judge. As for his hours of leisure, he spent them not in the pursuits of pleasure, or schemes of profit, but in the worship of the gods, and in rational inquiries into their nature and their power. His name became at length so illustrious, that Tatius, who was the associate of Romulus in the kingdom, having an only daughter named Tatia, bestowed her upon

* The *interrex*, for the time being, having summoned the people, addressed them thus: "Romans, elect yourselves a king; the senate "give their consent; and, if you choose a prince worthy to succeed "Romulus, the senate will confirm your choice." The people were so well pleased with this condescension of the senate, that they remitted the choice to them.

upon him. He was not, however, ſo much elated with this match as to remove to the court of his father-in-law, but continued in the country of the Sabines, paying his attentions to his own father, who was now grown old. Tatia was partaker of his retirement, and preferred the calm enjoyment of life with her huſband in privacy, to the honours and diſtinction in which ſhe might have lived with her father at Rome. Thirteen years after their marriage ſhe died.

Numa then left the ſociety of the city, and paſſed his time in wandering about alone in the ſacred groves and lawns, in the moſt retired and ſolitary places. Hence the report concerning the goddeſs Egeria chiefly took its riſe *; and it was believed that it was not from any inward ſorrow or melancholy turn that he avoided human converſation, but from his being admitted to that which was more venerable and excellent, from the honour he had of a familiar intercourſe with a divinity that loved him, which led him to happineſs and knowledge more than mortal. It is obvious enough, how much this reſembles many of the ancient ſtories received and delivered down by the Phrygians of Atys †, the Bythenians of Herodotus, and the Arcadians of Endymion; to whom might be added many others, who were thought to have attained to ſuperior felicity, and to be beloved in an extraordinary manner by the gods. And, indeed, it is rational enough to ſuppoſe, that the deity would not place his affection upon horſes or birds, but rather upon human beings, emi-
nently

* Numa's inclination to ſolitude, and his cuſtom of retiring into the ſecret places of the foreſt of Aricia, gave riſe to ſeveral popular opinions. Some believed, that the nymph Egeria herſelf dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he eſtabliſhed. And, indeed, he declared ſo himſelf, in order to procure a divine ſanction to them. But, as no great man is without aſperſions, others have thought, that, under this affected paſſion for woods and caves, was concealed another more real and leſs chaſte. This gave occaſion to that ſarcaſm of Juvenal, in ſpeaking of the grove of Egeria, (*Sat.* iii. ver. 12.)

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numæ conſtituebat amicæ.

Ovid ſays, that to remove her grief for the loſs of Numa, Diana changed her into a fountain which ſtill bears her name. *Metam.* l. xv.

† Atys was ſaid to be beloved by the goddeſs Cybele, and Endymion by Diana; but we believe there is no where elſe any mention made of this Herodotus, or Rhodotus, as Dacier from his manuſcript calls him.

nently distinguished by virtue; and that he neither dislikes nor disdains to hold conversation with a man of wisdom and piety. But that a *divinity* should be captivated with the external beauty of any human body, is irrational to believe. The Egyptians, indeed, make a distinction in this case, which they think not an absurd one, that it is not impossible for a woman to be impregnated by the approach of some divine spirit; but that a man can have no corporeal intercourse with a goddess. But they do not, however, consider that a mixture, be it of what sort it may, equally communicates its being. In short, the regard which the gods have for men, though, like a human passion, it be called love, must be employed in forming their manners, and raising them to higher degrees of virtue. In this sense we may admit the assertion of the poets, that Phorbas *, Hyacinthus, and Admetus, were beloved by Apollo; and that Hippolytus, the Sicyonian, was equally in his favour; so that whenever he sailed from Cirrha to Sicyon, the priestess, to signify Apollo's satisfaction, repeated this heroic verse;

He comes, again the much-loved hero comes.

It is also fabled, that Pan was in love with Pindar † on account of his poetry; and that Archilochus and Hesiod ‡, after

* Phorbas was the son of Triopas, king of Argos. He delivered the Rhodians from a prodigious number of serpents that infested their island, and particularly from one furious dragon that had devoured a great many people. He was, therefore, supposed to be dear to Apollo, who had slain the Python. After his death he was placed in the heavens, with the dragon he had destroyed, in the constellation *Ophiucus*, or *Surpentarius*.

Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas, founder of the city of Amyclæ, near Sparta. He was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus, and was killed in a fit of jealousy by the latter, who, with a puff of wind, caused a quoit thrown by Apollo to fall upon his head. He was changed into a flower which bears his name. *Vide* PAUSAN. de Laconic. l. iii. & OVID. Metam. l. x. fab. 5.

Admetus was the son of Pheres, king of Thessaly. It is said that Apollo kept his sheep.

† Pindar had a particular devotion for the god Pan, and therefore took up his abode near the temple of Rhea and Pan. He composed the hymns which the Theban virgins sung on the festival of that deity; and, it is said, he had the happiness to hear Pan himself singing one of his odes.

‡ Archilochus was slain by a soldier of Naxos, who was obliged by the priestess of Apollo to make expiation for having killed a man consecrated to the muses.——As for Hesiod, the Orchomenians, a people

after their death, were honoured by the heavenly powers for the ſame reaſon. Sophocles, too, (as the ſtory goes) was bleſſed in his life-time with the converſation of the god Æſculapius, of which many proofs ſtill remain; and another deity procured him burial *. Now, if we admit that theſe were ſo highly favoured, ſhall we deny that Zaleucus †, Minos, Zoroaſter, Numa, and Lycurgus, kings and lawgivers, were happy in the ſame reſpect? Nay, rather, we ſhall think, that the gods might ſeriouſly converſe with ſuch excellent perſons as theſe, to inſtruct and encourage them in their great attempts; whereas, if they indulged poets and muſicians in the ſame grace, it muſt be by way of diverſion. To ſuch as are of another opinion, I ſhall ſay, however, with Bacchylides, *The way is broad.* For it is no unplauſible account of the matter which others give, when they tell us, that Lycurgus, Numa, and other great men, finding their people difficult to manage, and alterations to be made in their ſeveral governments, pretended commiſſions from heaven, which were ſalutary, at leaſt to thoſe for whom they were invented.

Numa was now in his fortieth year, when ambaſſadors came from Rome to make him an offer of the kingdom. The ſpeakers were Proculus and Veleſus, whom the people before had caſt their eyes upon for the royal dignity, the Romans being attached to Proculus, and the Sabines to Veleſus. As they imagined that Numa would gladly embrace his good fortune, they made but a ſhort ſpeech. They found it, however, no eaſy matter to perſuade him, but were obliged to make uſe of much intreaty to draw him from that peaceful retreat he was ſo fond of, to the government of a city born, as it were, and brought up in war. In the preſence, therefore, of his father, and one of his kinſmen, named Marcius, he gave them this anſwer:

people of Bœotia, being terribly afflicted by a plague, were ordered by the oracle to remove the bones of that poet, from Naupactus in Ætolia, into their country.

* Sophocles died at Athens, while Lyſander was carrying on the ſiege of the city; and Bacchus is ſaid to have appeared to the Spartan general in a dream, and ordered him to permit the new Athenian Syren to be buried at Decelea

† Zaleucus gave laws to the Locrians in Magna Græcia; Zoroaſter, one of the *magi*, and king of the Bactrians, to his own ſubjects; and Minos to the people of Crete.

answer: "Every change of human life has its dangers; "but when a man has a sufficiency for every thing, and "there is nothing in his present situation to be complained of, what but madness can lead him from his "usual track of life, which, if it has no other advantage, "has that of certainty, to experience another as yet "doubtful and unknown? But the dangers that attend "this government are beyond an uncertainty, if we "may form a judgment from the fortunes of Romulus, "who laboured under the suspicion of taking off Tatius, "his colleague, and was supposed to have lost his own "life with equal injustice. Yet Romulus is celebrated "as a person of divine origin, as supernaturally nourished, when an infant, and most wonderfully preserved. For my part, I am only of mortal race, and "you are sensible my nursing and education boast of nothing extraordinary. As for my character, if it has "any distinction, it has been gained in a way not likely "to qualify me for a king, in scenes of repose and employments by no means arduous. My genius is inclined to peace, my love has long been fixed upon it, "and I have studiously avoided the confusion of war: I "have also drawn others, so far as my influence extended, to the worship of the gods, to mutual offices "of friendship, and to spend the rest of their time in "tilling the ground, and feeding cattle. The Romans "may have unavoidable wars left upon their hands by "their late king, for the maintaining of which you have "need of another more active and more enterprising. "Besides the people are of a warlike disposition, spirited "with success, and plainly enough discover their inclination to extend their conquests. Of course, therefore, "a person who has set his heart upon the promoting of "religion and justice, and drawing men off from the "love of violence and war, would soon become ridiculous and contemptible to a city that has more occasion for a general than a king."

Numa, in this manner declining the crown, the Romans, on the other hand, exerted all their endeavours to obviate his objections, and begged of him not to throw them into confusion and civil war again, as there was no other whom both parties would unanimously elect. When the ambassadors had retired, his father and his friend Marcius privately urged him, by all the arguments in their power, to

receive this great and valuable gift of heaven. "If contented, said they, with a competence, you desire not "riches, nor aspire after the honour of sovereignty, "having a higher and better distinction in virtue; yet "consider that a king is the minister of God, who now "awakens, and puts in action your native wisdom and "justice; decline not, therefore, an authority, which to "a wise man is a field for great and good actions; where "dignity may be added to religion, and men may be "brought over to piety, in the easiest and readiest way, "by the influence of the prince. Tatius, though a "stranger, was beloved by this people, and they pay "divine honours to the memory of Romulus. Besides, "who knows, as they are victorious, but they may be "satiated with war, and having no farther wish for "triumphs and spoils, may be desirous of a mild and "just governor for the establishing of good laws, and the "settling of peace? But should they be ever so ardently "inclined to war, yet is it not better to turn their vio-"lence another way, and to be the centre of union and "friendship between the country of the Sabines, and so "great and flourishing a state as that of Rome?" These inducements we are told, were strengthened by auspicious omens, and by the zeal and ardour of his fellow-citizens, who as soon as they had learned the subject of the embassy, went in a body to entreat him to take the government upon him, as the only means to appease all dissensions, and effectually incorporate the two nations into one.

When he had determined to go, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and then set forward to Rome. Struck with love and admiration of the man, the senate and people met him on the way; the women welcomed him with blessings and shouts of joy; the temples were crowded with sacrifices; and so universal was the satisfaction, that the city might seem to have received a kingdom, instead of a king. When they were come into the *Forum*, Spurius Vettius, whose turn it then was to be *Interrex*, put it to the vote, whether Numa should be king, and all the citizens agreed to it with one voice. The robes and other distinctions of royalty then were offered him, but he commanded them to stop, as his authority yet wanted the sanction of heaven. Taking therefore, with him the priests and *augurs*, he went up to the *Capitol*, which the Romans,

Romans at that time called the *Tarpeian* rock. There the chief of the *augurs* covered the head of Numa *, and turned his face towards the south; then standing behind him, and laying his right hand upon his head, he offered up his devotions, and looked around him, in hopes of seeing birds, or some other signal from the gods. An incredible silence reigned among the people, anxious for the event, and lost in suspence, till the auspicious birds appeared and passed on the right hand. Then Numa took the royal robe, and went down from the mount to the people, who received him with loud acclamations, as the most pious of men, and most beloved of the gods.

His first act of government was to discharge the body of three hundred men, called *Celeres* †, whom Romulus always kept about his person as guards; for he neither chose to distrust those who put a confidence in him, nor to reign over a people that could distrust him. In the next place, to the priests of Jupiter and Mars he added one for Romulus, whom he styled *Flamen Quirinalis*. *Flamines* was a common name for priests before that time, and it is said to have been corrupted from *Pilamines*, a term derived from *Piloi*, which in Greek signifies *caps* ‡, (for they wore, it seems, a kind of caps or hoods;) and the Latin language had many more Greek words mixed with it then, than it has at this time. Thus royal mantles were by the Romans called *Kænæ*, which Juba assures us was from the Greek *Chlænæ*, and the name

 of

* So it is in the text of Plutarch, as it now stands; but it appears from Livy, that the *augur* covered his own head, not that of Numa, *Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit*, &c. And indeed, the augur always covered his head in a gown peculiar to his office, called *Læna*, when he made his observations. Mezeray reconciles these writers, and removes the seeming mistake of Plutarch, by a reading which Francis Robortel had found in an ancient manuscript, τον μεν εις μεσημβριαν τρεψας, εγκεκαλυμμενος αυτος, και παραστας εξονιθεν. If this be considered only as an emendation, it is a very good one.

† Numa did not make use of them as guards, but as inferior ministers, who were to take care of the sacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them in their military capacity.

‡ Others think they took their names from the flame coloured tufts they had on their caps. They were denominated from the particular god to whom their ministry was confined, as *Flamen Dialis*, the Priest of Jupiter; *Flamen Martialis*, the Priest of Mars.

of *Camillus* *, given to the youth who ſerved in the temple of Jupiter, and who was to have both his parents alive, was the ſame which ſome of the Greeks give to Mercury, on account of his being an attendant of that god.

Numa having ſettled theſe matters with a view to eſtabliſh himſelf in the people's good graces, immediately after attempted to ſoften them, as iron is ſoftened by fire, and to bring them from a violent and warlike diſpoſition, to a juſter and more gentle temper. For, if any city ever was *in a ſtate of inflammation*, as Plato expreſſes it, Rome certainly was, being compoſed at firſt of the moſt hardy and reſolute men, whom boldneſs and deſpair had driven thither from all quarters, nouriſhed and grown up to power by a ſeries of wars, and ſtrengthened even by blows and conflicts, as piles fixed in the ground become firmer under the ſtrokes of the rammer. Perſuaded that no ordinary means were ſufficient to form and reduce ſo high-ſpirited and untractable a people to mildneſs and peace, he called in the aſſiſtance of religion. By ſacrifices, religious dances, and proceſſions, which he appointed, and wherein himſelf officiated, he contrived to mix the charms of feſtivity and ſocial pleaſure with the ſolemnity of the ceremonies. Thus he ſoothed their minds, and calmed their fierceneſs and martial fire. Sometimes alſo, by acquainting them with prodigies from heaven, by reports of dreadful apparitions and menacing voices, he inſpired them with terror, and humbled them with ſuperſtition. This was the principal cauſe of the report, that he drew his wiſdom from the ſources of Pythagoras: For a great part of the philoſophy of the latter, as well as the government of the former, conſiſted in religious attentions and the worſhip of the gods. It is likewiſe ſaid, that his ſolemn appearance and air of ſanctity, was copied from Pythagoras. That philoſopher had ſo far tamed an eagle, that, by pronouncing certain words,

* Camillus is derived from the Bœotic καδμιλος, which properly ſignifies a ſervitor. In every temple there was a youth of quality, whoſe buſineſs it was to miniſter to the prieſt. It was neceſſary that the father and mother of the youth ſhould be both alive; for which reaſon Plutarch makes uſe of the word αμφιθαλη, which the Latins call *patrimum et matrimum*.

words, he could ſtop it in its flight, or bring it down; and paſſing through the multitudes aſſembled at the Olympic games, he ſhewed them his golden thigh; beſides other arts and actions, by which he pretended to ſomething ſupernatural. This led Timon the Phliaſian to write,

> To catch applauſe Pythagoras affects
> A ſolemn air and grandeur of expreſſion.

But Numa feigned that ſome goddeſs or mountain nymph, favoured him with her private regards, (as we have already obſerved) and that he had moreover frequent converſations with the muſes. To the latter he aſcribed moſt of his revelations; and there was one in particular that he called *Tacita*, as much as to ſay, the *muſe of ſilence* *, whom he taught the Romans to diſtinguiſh with their veneration. By this, too, he ſeemed to ſhew his knowledge and approbation of the Pythagorean precept of ſilence.

His regulations concerning images ſeem likewiſe to have ſome relation to the doctrine of Pythagoras; who was of opinion that the Firſt Cauſe was not an object of ſenſe, nor liable to paſſion, but inviſible, incorruptible, and diſcernible only by the mind. Thus Numa forbad the Romans to repreſent the Deity in the form either of man or beaſt. Nor was there among them formerly any image or ſtatue of the Divine Being: During the firſt hundred and ſeventy years they built temples, indeed, and other ſacred domes, but placed in them no figure of any kind; perſuaded that it is impious to repreſent things divine by what is periſhable, and that we can have no conception of God but by the underſtanding. His ſacrifices, too, reſembled the Pythagorean worſhip: For they were without any effuſion of blood, conſiſting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and other very ſimple and unexpenſive things.

To theſe arguments other circumſtances are added, to prove that theſe two great men were acquainted with each other

* The common reading of the text is, οἷον σιωπηλὴν ἢ νεαν. The word νεαν ſignifies young; but it ſhould undoubtedly be read ενεαν *ſilent, mute*, not only from the analogy of the ſenſe, and the conjecture of Stephens, but on the authority of a manuſcript. In the city of Erythræ, there was a temple of Minerva, where the prieſteſs was called *Heſychia*, that is, *the compoſed, the ſilent*.

other. One of which is, that Pythagoras was enrolled a citizen of Rome. This account we have in an addreſs to Antenor from Epicharmus, a writer of comedy, and a very ancient author, who was himſelf of the ſchool of Pythagoras *. Another is, that Numa having four ſons †, called one of them Mamercus, after the name of a ſon of Pythagoras. From him too, they tell us, the Æmilian family is deſcended, which is one of the nobleſt in Rome; the king having given him the ſurname of Æmilius, on account of his graceful and engaging manner of ſpeaking. And I have myſelf been informed by ſeveral perſons in Rome, that the Romans being commanded by the oracle to erect two ſtatues ‡, one to the wiſeſt, and the other to the braveſt of the Grecians, ſet up in braſs the figures of Pythagoras and Alcibiades. But as theſe matters are very dubious, to ſupport or refute them farther would look like the juvenile affectation of diſpute.

To Numa is attributed the inſtitution of that high order of prieſts called *Pontifices* ‖, over which he is ſaid to have preſided himſelf. Some ſay, they were called *Pontifices*,

* As Πυθαγορικης διατριβης μετεχηκως, does not neceſſarily ſignify *ſcholar to Pythagoras*, we have rendered it *of the ſchool of Pythagoras*, or *a Pythagorean*, to avoid involving Plutarch in a glaring anachroniſm. According to the *Marmora Oxon.* Epicharmus flouriſhed in the year before Chriſt 472; and it is certain it muſt have been about that time, becauſe he was at the court of Hiero.

† Some writers, to countenance the vanity of certain noble families in Rome, in deducing their genealogy from Numa, have given that prince four ſons. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named Pompilia. The Æmilii were one of the moſt conſiderable families in Rome, and branched into the Lepidi, the Pauli, and the Papi. The word *Aimulus* or *Æmylus*, in Greek, ſignifies *gentle, graceful*.

‡ Pliny tells us, (l. xxxiv. c. 5.) it was in the time of their war with the Samnites, that the Romans were ordered to ſet up theſe ſtatues; that they were accordingly placed in the *comitium*; and that they remained there till the dictatorſhip of Sylla. The oracle, by this direction, probably intimated, that the Romans, if they deſired to be victorious, ſhould imitate the wiſdom and valour of the Greeks.

‖ Numa created four, who were all patricians. But, in the year of Rome 453 or 454, four plebeians were added to the number. The king himſelf is here aſſerted to have been the chief of them, or *pontifex maximus*; though Livy attributes that honour to another perſon of the ſame name, *viz.* Numa Marcius, the ſon of Marcius, one of the ſenators. It ſeems, however, not improbable, that Numa, who was of ſo religious a turn, reſerved the chief dignity in the prieſthood to himſelf, as kings had done in the firſt ages of the world, and as the emperors of Rome did afterwards.

tifices, as employed in the ſervice of thoſe *powerful* gods that govern the world; for *potens* in the Roman language ſignifies *powerful*. Others, from their being ordered by the lawgiver to perform ſuch ſecret offices as were in their *power*, and ſtanding excuſed when there was ſome great impediment. But moſt writers aſſign a ridiculous reaſon for the term, as if they were called *Pontifices* from their offering ſacrifices upon the *bridge*, which the Latins call *pontem*, ſuch kind of ceremonies it ſeems being looked upon as the moſt ſacred, and of greateſt antiquity. Theſe prieſts, too, are ſaid to have been commiſſioned to keep the bridges in repair, as one of the moſt indiſpenſable parts of their holy office. For the Romans conſidered it as an execrable impiety to demoliſh the wooden bridge; which, we are told, was built without iron, and put together with pins of wood only, by the direction of ſome oracle. The ſtone bridge was built many ages after, when Æmilius was quæſtor. Some, however, inform us, that the wooden bridge was not conſtructed in the time of Numa, having the laſt hand put to it by Ancus Marcius, who was grandſon to Numa by his daughter.

The *pontifex maximus*, chief of theſe prieſts, is interpreter of all ſacred rites, or rather a ſuperintendant of religion, having the care not only of public ſacrifices, but even of private rites and offerings, forbidding the people to depart from the ſtated ceremonies, and teaching them how to honour and propitiate the gods. He had alſo the inſpection of the holy virgins called *Veſtals*. For to Numa is aſcribed the ſacred eſtabliſhment of the veſtal virgins, and the whole ſervice with reſpect to the perpetual fire, which they watch continually. This office ſeems appropriated to them, either becauſe fire, which is of a pure and incorruptible nature, ſhould be looked after by perſons untouched and undefiled, or elſe becauſe virginity, like fire is barren and unfruitful. Agreeably to this laſt reaſon, at the places in Greece, where the ſacred fire is preſerved unextinguiſhed, as at Delphi and Athens, not virgins, but widows paſt child-bearing, have the charge of it. If it happens by any accident to be put out, as the ſacred lamp is ſaid to have been at Athens, under the tyranny of Ariſtion *; at Delphi, when the temple

* This Ariſtion held out a long time againſt Sylla, who beſieged and took Athens in the time of the Mithridatic war. Ariſtion himſelf committed

temple was burnt by the Medes; and at Rome, in the Mithridatic war, as alſo in the civil war *, when not only the fire was extinguiſhed, but the altar overturned; it is not to be lighted again from another fire, but new fire is to be gained by drawing a pure and unpolluted flame from the ſun beams. They kindle it generally with concave veſſels of braſs, formed by the Conic ſection of a rectangled triangle, whoſe lines from the circumference meet in one central point. This being placed againſt the ſun, cauſes its rays to converge in the centre, which, by reflection, acquiring the force and activity of fire, rarefy the air, and immediately kindle ſuch light and dry matter as they think fit to apply †. Some are of opinion, that the ſacred virgins have the care of nothing but the perpetual fire. But others ſay they have ſome private rites beſides, kept from the ſight of all but their own body, concerning which I have delivered in the life of Camillus, as much as it was proper to inquire into or declare.

It is reported that at firſt only two virgins were conſecrated by Numa, whoſe names were Gegania and Verania; afterwards two others Canuleia and Tarpeia; to whom Servius added two more; and that number has continued to this time. The *veſtals* were obliged by the king to preſerve their virginity for thirty years. The firſt ten years they ſpent in learning their office; the next ten in putting in practice what they had learned; and the third period in the inſtructing of others. At the concluſion of this time, ſuch as choſe it had liberty to marry, and quitting their ſacred employment, to take up ſome other. However, we have account of but very few that accepted this indulgence, and thoſe did not proſper. They generally became a prey to repentance and regret, from

committed innumerable outrages in the city, and was at laſt the cauſe of its being ſacked and plundered. As for the ſacred fire, it was kept in the temple of Minerva.

* Livy tells us (L. 86.) that towards the concluſion of the civil war between Sylla and Marius, Mutius Scævola, the pontiff, was killed at the entrance of the temple of Veſta; but we do not find that the ſacred fire was extinguiſhed. And even when that temple was burnt, towards the end of the firſt Punic war, L. Cecilius Metellus, then pontiff, ruſhed through the flames, and brought off the *Palladium* and other ſacred things, though with the loſs of his ſight.

† Burning glaſſes were invented by Archimedes, who flouriſhed 500 years after Numa.

from whence the reſt, inſpired with a religious fear, were willing to end their lives under the ſame inſtitution.

The king honoured them with great privileges, ſuch as power to make a will during their father's life, and to tranſact their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children now. When they went abroad, they had the *faſces* carried before them *; and if, by accident, they met a perſon led to execution, his life was granted him. But the *veſtal* was to make oath † that it was by chance ſhe met him, and not by deſign. It was death to go under the chair in which they were carried.

For ſmaller offences theſe virgins were puniſhed with ſtripes; and ſometimes the *pontifex maximus* gave them the diſcipline naked, in ſome dark place, and under the cover of a veil: But ſhe that broke her vow of chaſtity was buried alive by the *Colline* gate. There, within the walls, is raiſed a little mount of earth, called in Latin *Agger*; under which is prepared a ſmall cell, with ſteps to deſcend to it. In this are placed a bed, a lighted lamp, and ſome ſlight proviſions, ſuch as bread, water, milk, and oil, as they thought it impious to take off a perſon conſecrated with the moſt awful ceremonies, by ſuch a death as that of famine ‡. The criminal is carried to puniſhment through the *Forum*, in a litter well covered without, and bound up in ſuch a manner that her cries cannot be heard. The people ſilently make way for the litter, and follow it with marks of extreme ſorrow and dejection. There is no ſpectacle more dreadful than this, nor any day which the city paſſes in a more melancholy manner. When the litter comes to the place appointed, the officers looſe the cords, the high-prieſt, with hands lifted up towards heaven, offers up ſome private prayers juſt before the fatal minute, then takes out the priſoner, who is covered with a veil, and places her upon the ſteps which lead down to the cell: after this, he retires with the

* This honour was not conferred upon them by Numa, but by the triumvirate in the year of Rome 712.

† Neither a veſtal nor a prieſt of Jupiter, was obliged to take an oath. They were believed without that ſolemnity.

‡ There ſeems to be ſomething improbable and inconſiſtent in this. Of what uſe could proviſions be to the veſtal, who, when the grave was cloſed upon her, muſt expire thro' want of air? Or, if ſhe could make uſe of thoſe proviſions, was ſhe not at laſt to die by famine? Perhaps what Plutarch here calls proviſions were materials for ſome ſacrifice.

the reſt of the prieſts, and when ſhe is gone down, the ſteps are taken away, and the cell is covered with earth; ſo that the place is made level with the reſt of the mount. Thus were the *veſtals* puniſhed that preſerved not their chaſtity.

It is alſo ſaid, that Numa built the temple of *Veſta*, where the perpetual fire was to be kept *, in an orbicular form, not intending to repreſent the figure of the earth, as if that was meant by *Veſta*, but the frame of the univerſe, in the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire †, and give it the name of *Veſta* and *Unity*. The earth they ſuppoſe not to be without motion, nor ſituated in the centre of the world, but to make its revolution round the ſphere of fire, being neither one of the moſt valuable nor principal parts of the great machine. Plato, too, in his old age, is reported to have been of the ſame opinion, aſſigning the earth a different ſituation from the centre, and leaving that, as the place of honour, to a nobler element.

The *Pontifices*, were, moreover, to preſcribe the form of funeral rites to ſuch as conſulted them. Numa himſelf taught them to look upon the laſt offices to the dead as no pollution. He inſtructed them to pay all due honour to the infernal gods, as receiving the moſt excellent part of us, and more particularly to venerate the goddeſs *Libitina*, as he called her, who preſides over funeral ſolemnities; whether he meant by her *Proſerpine*, or rather Venus ‡, as ſome of the moſt learned Romans ſuppoſe; not improperly aſcribing to the ſame divine power the care of our birth and of our death.

He himſelf likewiſe fixed the time of mourning, according to the different ages of the deceaſed. He allowed none for a child that died under three years of age; and for one older the mourning was only to laſt as many months as he lived years, provided thoſe were not more

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus (l. ii.) is of opinion, and probably he is right, that Numa did build the temple of *Veſta* in a round form, to repreſent the figure of the earth; for by *Veſta* they meant the earth.

† That this was the opinion of Philolaus and other Pythagoreans is well known: but Diogenes Laërtius tells us, that Pythagoras himſelf held the earth to be the centre.

‡ This Venus *Libitina* was the ſame with Proſerpine. She was called at Delphi Venus *Epitumbia*. Pluto was the Jupiter of the ſhades below; and there they had their Mercury too.

more than ten. The longeſt mourning was not to continue above ten months, after which ſpace widows were permitted to marry again: but ſhe that took another huſband before that term was out, was obliged by his decree to ſacrifice a cow with calf*.

Numa inſtituted ſeveral other ſacred orders; two of which I ſhall mention, the *Salii* † and *Feciales* ‡, which afford particular proofs of his piety. The *Feciales*, who were like the *Irenophylakes*, or *guardians of the peace*, among the Greeks, had, I believe, a name expreſſive of their office; for they were to *act* and mediate between the two parties, to decide their differences by reaſon, and not ſuffer them to go to war till all hopes of juſtice were loſt. The Greeks call ſuch a peace *Irene*, as puts an end to ſtrife, not by mutual violence, but in a rational way. In like manner, the *feciales* or *heralds*, were often deſpatched to

* Such an unnatural ſacrifice was intended to deter the widows from marrying again before the expiration of their mourning. Romulus's year conſiſting but of ten months, when Numa afterwards added two months more, he did not alter the time he had before ſettled for mourning; and therefore, though after that time we often meet with *Luctus annus*, or a year's mourning, we muſt take it only for the old year of Romulus.

The ordinary colour to expreſs their grief, uſed alike by both ſexes, was black, without trimmings. But after the eſtabliſhment of the empire, when abundance of colours came in faſhion, the old primitive white grew ſo much into contempt, that it became peculiar to the women for their mourning. *Vide* PLUT. *Quæſt. Rom.*

There were ſeveral accidents which often occaſioned the concluding of a public mourning, or ſuſpenſion of a private one, before the fixed time; ſuch as the dedication of a temple, the ſolemnity of public games or feſtivals, the ſolemn luſtration performed by the cenſor, and the diſcharging of a vow made by a magiſtrate or a general. They likewiſe put off their mourning habit when a father, brother, or ſon, returned from captivity, or when ſome of the family were advanced to a conſiderable employment.

† The *Salii* were the guardians of the *Ancilia*, or twelve ſhields hung up in the temple of Mars. They took their name from their dancing in the celebration of an annual feſtival inſtituted in memory of a miraculous ſhield, which, Numa pretended, fell down from heaven.

‡ Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus finds them among the Aborigines; and Numa is ſaid to have borrowed the inſtitution from the people of Latium. He appointed twenty *feciales* choſen out of the moſt eminent families in Rome, and ſettled them in a college. The *pater patratus*, who made peace, or denounced war, was probably one of their body ſelected for that purpoſe, becauſe he had both a father and a ſon alive. Liv. l. i. c. 24.

to ſuch nations as had injured the Romans to perſuade them to entertain more equitable ſentiments: if they rejected their application, they called the gods to witneſs, with imprecations againſt themſelves and their country, if their cauſe was not juſt; and ſo they declared war. But if the *feciales* refuſed their ſanction, it was not lawful for any Roman ſoldier, nor even for the king himſelf, to begin hoſtilities. War was to commence with their approbation, as the proper judges whether it was juſt, and then the ſupreme magiſtrate was to deliberate concerning the proper means of carrying it on. The great misfortunes which befel the city from the Gauls, are ſaid to have proceeded from the violation of theſe ſacred rites. For when thoſe barbarians were beſieging Cluſium, Fabius Ambuſtus was ſent ambaſſador to their camp, with propoſals of peace in favour of the beſieged. But receiving a harſh anſwer, he thought himſelf releaſed from his character of ambaſſador, and raſhly taking up arms for the Cluſians, challenged the braveſt man in the Gauliſh army. He proved victorious, indeed, in the combat, for he killed his adverſary, and carried off his ſpoils: but the Gauls, having diſcovered who he was, ſent a herald to Rome to accuſe Fabius of bearing arms againſt them, contrary to treaties and good faith, and without a declaration of war. Upon this the *feciales* exhorted the ſenate to deliver him up to the Gauls; but he applied to the people, and being a favourite with them, was ſcreened from the ſentence. Soon after this, the Gauls marched to Rome, and ſacked the whole city except the capitol; as we have related at large in the life of Camillus.

The order of prieſts called *Salii*, is ſaid to have been inſtituted on this occaſion: In the eighth year of Numa's reign, a peſtilence prevailed in Italy; Rome alſo felt its ravages. While the people were greatly dejected, we are told that a brazen buckler fell from heaven into the hands of Numa. Of this he gave a very wonderful account, received from Egeria and the muſes: That the buckler was ſent down for the preſervation of the city, and ſhould be kept with great care: That eleven others ſhould be made as like it as poſſible in ſize and faſhion, in order, that if any perſon were diſpoſed to ſteal it, he might not be able to diſtinguiſh that which fell from heaven from the reſt. He farther declared, that the place, and the meadows about it, where he frequently converſed with

the

the muſes, ſhould be conſecrated to thoſe divinities; and that the ſpring which watered the ground, ſhould be ſacred to the uſe of the veſtal virgins, daily to ſprinkle and purify their temple. The immediate ceſſation of the peſtilence is ſaid to have confirmed the truth of this account. Numa then ſhewed the buckler to the artiſts, and commanded them to exert all their ſkill for an exact reſemblance. They all declined the attempt, except Veturius Mamurius, who was ſo ſucceſsful in the imitation, and made the other eleven ſo like it, that not even Numa himſelf could diſtinguiſh them. He gave theſe bucklers in charge to the *Salii;* who did not receive their name, as ſome pretend, from Salius of Samothrace or Mantinea, that taught the way of dancing in arms, but rather from the Subſultive dance itſelf, which they lead up along the ſtreets, when in the month of March they carry the ſacred bucklers through the city. On that occaſion they are habited in purple veſts, girt with broad belts of braſs; they wear alſo brazen helmets, and carry ſhort ſwords, with which they ſtrike upon the bucklers, and to thoſe ſounds they keep time with their feet. They move in an agreeable manner, performing certain involutions and evolutions in a quick meaſure, with vigour, agility, and eaſe.

Theſe bucklers are called *Ancilia,* from the form of them. For they are neither circular, nor yet like the *pelta*, ſemicircular, but faſhioned in two crooked indented lines, the extremities of which meeting cloſe, form a curve, in Greek *ancylon*. Or elſe they may be ſo named from the *ancon*, or *bend of the arm*, on which they are carried. This account of the matter we have from Juba, who is very deſirous to derive the term from the Greek. But if we muſt have an etymology from that language, it may be taken from their deſcending, *anekathen*, from on high; or from *akeſis*, their healing of the ſick; or from *auchmon luſis*, their putting an end to the drought; or laſtly, from *anaſcheſis*, deliverance from calamities: For which reaſon alſo Caſtor and Pollux were by the Athenians called *anakes*. The reward Mamurius had for his art, was, we are told, an ode, which the Salians ſung in memory of him, along with the Pyrrhic dance. Some, however, ſay, it was not *Veturius Mamurius*, who was celebrated in that compoſition, but *vetus memoria*, the *ancient remembrance* of the thing.

After

After Numa had instituted these several orders of priests, he erected a royal palace, called *Regia*, near the temple of Vesta; and there he passed most of his time, either in performing some sacred function, or instructing the priests, or, at least, in conversing with them on some divine subject. He had also another house upon the *Quirinal* mount, the situation of which they still shew us. In all public ceremonies and processions of the priests, a herald went before, who gave notice to the people to keep holiday. For, as they tell us, the Pythagoreans would not suffer their disciples to pay any homage or worship to the gods in a cursory manner, but required them to come prepared for it by meditation at home; so Numa was of opinion, that his citizens should neither see nor hear any religious service in a slight or careless way, but, disengaged from other affairs, bring with them that attention, which an object of such importance required. The streets and ways, on such occasions, were cleared of clamour, and all manner of noise which attends manual labour, that the solemnities might not be disturbed. Some vestiges of this still remain; for when the consul is employed either in augury or sacrificing, they call out to the people, *Hoc age; Mind this*, and thus admonish them to be orderly and attentive.

Many other of his institutions resemble those of the Pythagoreans. For as these had precepts, which enjoined not to sit upon a bushel *; not to stir the fire with a sword †; not to turn back upon a journey ‡; to offer an odd number to the celestial gods, and an even one to the terrestrial ||; the sense of which precepts is hid from the vulgar: so some of Numa's have a concealed meaning; as, not to offer to the gods wine proceeding from

* That is, not to give up ourselves to idleness.

† Not to irritate him who is already angry.

‡ In another place Plutarch gives this precept thus, *Never return from the borders*. But the sense is the same: Die like a man; do not long after life, when it is departing, or wish to be young again.

|| The Pagans looked on an odd number as the more perfect, and the symbol of concord, because it cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the even number may, which is therefore the symbol of division. This prejudice was not only the reason why the first month was consecrated to the celestial, and the second to the terrestrial deities; but gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which in some countries are still kept up by those whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived.

from a vine unpruned; nor to ſacrifice without meal *; to turn round when you worſhip †; and to ſit down when you have worſhipped. The two firſt precepts ſeem to recommend agriculture as a part of religion. And the turning round in adoration, is ſaid to repreſent the circular motion of the world. But I rather think, that as the temples opened towards the eaſt, ſuch as entered them neceſſarily turning their backs upon the riſing ſun, made a half turn to that quarter, in honour of the god of day, and then completed the circle, as well as their devotions, with their faces towards the god of the temple. Unleſs, perhaps, this change of poſture may have an ænigmatical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels, admoniſhing us of the inſtability of every thing human, and preparing us to acquieſe and reſt ſatisfied with whatever turns and changes the divine Being allots us. As for ſitting down after an act of religion, they tell us it was intended as an omen of ſucceſs in prayer, and of laſting happineſs afterwards. They add, that as actions are divided by intervals of reſt, ſo when one buſineſs was over, they ſat down in the preſence of the gods, that under their auſpicious conduct they might begin another. Nor is this repugnant to what has been already advanced; ſince the lawgiver wanted to accuſtom us to addreſs the deity, not in the midſt of buſineſs or hurry, but when we have time and leiſure to do it as we ought.

By this ſort of religious diſcipline the people became ſo tractable, and were impreſſed with ſuch a veneration of Numa's power, that they admitted many improbable, and even fabulous tales, and thought nothing incredible or impoſſible which he undertook. Thus he is ſaid to have invited many of the citizens to his table *, where he took care the veſſels ſhould be mean, and the proviſions plain and inelegant; but after they were ſeated, he told them,

* The principal intention of this precept might be to wean them from ſacrifices of blood, and to bring them to offer only cakes and figures of animals made of paſte.

† Probably to repreſent the immenſity of the Godhead.

‡ Dionyſius tells us, that Numa ſhewed theſe Romans all the rooms of his palace in the morning, meanly furniſhed, and without any ſigns of a great entertainment; that he kept them with him great part of the day; and when they returned to ſup with him by invitation in the evening, they found every thing ſurpriſingly magnificent. It is likely, Numa imputed the change to his inviſible friend.

them, the goddeſs with whom he uſed to converſe, was coming to viſit him, when, on a ſudden, the room was ſupplied with the moſt coſtly veſſels, and the table with a moſt magnificent entertainment. But nothing can be imagined more abſurd, than what is related of his converſation with Jupiter. The ſtory goes, that when mount *Aventine* was not incloſed within the walls, nor yet inhabited, but abounded with flowing ſprings and ſhady groves, it was frequented by two demi-gods, Picus and Faunus. Theſe, in other reſpects, were like the *Satyrs*, or the race of *Titans* * ; but in the wonderful feats they performed by their ſkill in pharmacy and magic more reſembled the *Idæi Dactyli* †, (as the Greeks call them ;) and thus provided, they roamed about Italy. They tell us, that Numa, having mixed the fountain of which they uſed to drink with wine and honey, ſurpriſed and caught them. Upon this, they turned themſelves into many forms, and, quitting their natural figure, aſſumed ſtrange and horrible appearances. But when they found they could not break or eſcape from the bond that held them, they acquainted him with many ſecrets of futurity, and taught him a charm for thunder and lightening, compoſed of onions, hair, and pilchards, which is uſed to this day. Others ſay, theſe demi-gods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, reſenting this at Numa's hands, ordered *the charm to conſiſt of heads.* *Of onions*, replied Numa. *No, human.—Hairs*, ſaid Numa, deſirous to fence againſt the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. *Living*, ſaid Jupiter: *Pilchards*, ſaid Numa. He was inſtructed, it ſeems, by Egeria, how to manage

* Some manuſcripts give us πανων inſtead of Τιτανων, which is a better reading, becauſe Picus and Faunus were horned Sylvan deities like Pan.

† Diodorus tells us from Ephorus, the Idæi Dactyli were originally from mount Ida in Phrygia, from whence they paſſed into Europe with king Minos. They ſettled firſt in Samothrace, where they taught the inhabitants religious rites. Orpheus is thought to have been their diſciple ; and the firſt that carried a form of worſhip over into Greece. The Dactyli are likewiſe ſaid to have found out the uſe of fire, and to have diſcovered the nature of iron and braſs to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to mount Berecynthus, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other uſeful diſcoveries, they were after their death worſhipped as gods.

manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *ileos*, whence the place was called *Ilicium* *; and so the charm was effected. These things, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, shew how superstition, confirmed by custom, operated upon the minds of the people. As for Numa himself, he placed his confidence so entirely in God, that when one brought him word the enemy was coming, he only smiled, saying, *And I am sacrificing.*

He is recorded to have been the first that built temples to *Fides* †, or *Faith*, and to *Terminus* ‡; and he taught the Romans to swear by *faith*, as the greatest of oaths; which they still continue to make use of. In our times they sacrifice animals in the fields, both on public and private occasions, to *Terminus*, as the god of boundaries; but formerly the offering was an inanimate one; for Numa argued that there should be no effusion of blood in the rites of a god, who is the witness of justice, and guardian of peace. It is indeed certain, that Numa was the first that marked out the bounds of the Roman territory; Romulus being unwilling, by measuring out his own, to shew how much he had encroached upon the neighbouring countries: For bounds, if preserved, are barriers against lawless power; if violated, they are evidences of injustice. The territory of the city was by no means extensive at first, but Romulus added to it a considerable district gained by the sword. All this Numa divided among the indigent citizens, that poverty might not drive them to rapine; and,

* This is Plutarch's mistake. Ovid informs us, (Fast. l. iii.) that Jupiter was called *Elicius* from *elicere, to draw out,* because Jupiter was drawn out of heaven on this occasion.

† This was intended to make the Romans pay as much regard to their word, as to a contract in writing. And so excellent, in fact, were their principles, that Polybius gives the Romans of his time this honourable testimony.—" They most inviolably keep their word " without being obliged to it by bail, witness, or promise; whereas, " ten securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses, cannot " hinder the faithless Greeks from attempting to deceive and disap- " point you." No wonder, then, that so virtuous a people were victorious over those that were become thus degenerate and dishonest.

‡ The *Dii Termini* were represented by stones, which Numa caused to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities, he instituted a festival called *Terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the 22d or 23d of February. To remove the Dii Termini was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might kill, with impunity, the transgressor.

and, as he turned the application of the people to agriculture, their temper was ſubdued together with the ground. For no occupation implants ſo ſpeedy and ſo effectual a love of peace, as a country life; where there remains indeed courage and bravery ſufficient to defend their property, but the temptations to injuſtice and avarice are removed. Numa, therefore, introduced among his ſubjects, an attachment to huſbandry as a charm of peace, and contriving a buſineſs for them, which would rather form their manners to ſimplicity, than raiſe them to opulence, he divided the country into ſeveral portions, which he called *pagi* or boroughs, and appointed over each of them a governor or overſeer. Sometimes alſo he inſpected them himſelf, and, judging of the diſpoſition of the people by the condition of their farms, ſome he advanced to poſts of honour and truſt; and, on the other hand, he reprimanded and endeavoured to reform the negligent and the idle *.

But the moſt admired of all his inſtitutions, is his diſtribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city conſiſting, as we have obſerved, of two nations, or rather factions, who were by no means willing to unite, or to blot out the remembrance of their original difference, but maintained perpetual conteſts and party quarrels; he took the ſame method with them as is uſed to incorporate hard and ſolid bodies, which, while entire, will not mix at all, but when reduced to powder, unite with eaſe. To attain his purpoſe, he divided, as I ſaid, the whole multitude into ſmall bodies, who gaining new diſtinctious, loſt by degrees the great and original one, in conſequence of their being thus broken into ſo many parts. This diſtribution was made according to the ſeveral arts or trades, of muſicians, goldſmiths, maſons, dyers, ſhoemakers, tanners, braſiers, and potters. He collected the other artificers alſo into companies, who had their reſpective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies, peculiar to each ſociety. By theſe means he firſt took away the diſtinction of Sabines and Romans, ſubjects of Tatius, and ſubjects of Romulus, both name and thing; the very ſeparation into parts mixing and incorporating the whole together.

He

* To neglect the cultivation of a farm, was conſidered amongſt the Romans as a *cenſorium probrum*; a fault that merited the chaſtiſement of the cenſor.

He is celebrated alſo in his political capacity, for correcting the law which empowered fathers to ſell their children*, excepting ſuch as married by their father's command or conſent; for he reckoned it a great hardſhip that a woman ſhould marry a man as free, and then live with a ſlave.

He attempted the reformation of the calendar too, which he executed with ſome degree of ſkill, though not with abſolute exactneſs. In the reign of Romulus, it had neither meaſure nor order, ſome months conſiſting of fewer than twenty days†, while ſome were ſtretched to thirty-five, and others even to more. They had no idea of the difference between the annual courſe of the ſun and that of the moon, and only laid down this poſition, that the

* Romulus had allowed fathers greater power over their children, than maſters had over their ſlaves. For a maſter could ſell his ſlave but once; whereas a father could ſell his ſon three times, let him be of what age or condition ſoever.

† But Macrobius tells us, (Saturnal. l. i. c. 12.) that Romulus ſettled the number of days with more equality, allotting to March, May, Quintilis, and October, one and thirty days each; to April, June, Sextilis, November, and December, thirty; making up in all three hundred and four days. Numa was better acquainted with the celeſtial motions; and therefore, in the firſt place, added the two months of January and February. By the way, it is probable the reader will think, that neither Romulus, nor any other man, could be ſo ignorant as to make the lunar year conſiſt of three hundred and four days; and that the Romans reckoned by lunar months, and conſequently by the lunar year, originally, is plain from their calends, nones, and ides. To compoſe theſe two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them anſwer to the courſe of the moon. Beſide this, he obſerved the difference between the ſolar and the lunar courſe to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled thoſe days after every two years, adding an interſtitial month after February; which Plutarch here calls *Mercedinus*; and, in the life of Julius Cæſar *Mercedonius*. Feſtus ſpeaks of certain days, which he calls Dies Mercedonii, becauſe they were appointed for the payment of workmen and domeſtics, which is all we know of the word. As Numa was ſenſible, that the ſolar year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-five days, and ſix hours, and that the ſix hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded, that the month Mercedinus, after every four years, ſhould conſiſt of twenty-three days; but the care of theſe intercalations being left to the prieſts, they put in or left out the intercalary day or month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky; and, by that means, created ſuch a confuſion, that the feſtivals came, in proceſs of time, to be kept at a ſeaſon quite contrary to what they had been formerly. The Roman calendar had gained near three months in the days of Julius Cæſar, and therefore wanted a great reformation again.

the year consisted of three hundred and sixty days. Numa, then, observing that there was a difference of eleven days, three hundred and fifty-four days making up the lunar year, and three hundred and sixty-five the solar, doubled those eleven days, and inserted them as an intercalary month, after that of February, every other year. This additional month was called by the Romans *Mercedinus*. But this amendment of the irregularity afterwards required a farther amendment. He likewise altered the order of the months, making March the third, which was the first; January first which was the eleventh of Romulus, and February the second, which was the twelfth and last. Many, however, assert, that the two months of January and February were added by Numa, whereas before they had reckoned but ten months in the year, as some barbarous nations had but three; and, among the Greeks, the Arcadians four, and the Acarnanians six. The Egyptian year, they tell us, at first, consisted only of one month, afterwards of four. And therefore, though they inhabit a new country, they seem to be a very ancient people, and reckon in their chronology an incredible number of years, because they account months for years*.

That the Roman year contained at first ten months only, and not twelve, we have a proof in the name of the last; for they still call it December, or the tenth month; and that March was the first, is also evident, because the fifth from it was called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the rest in their order. If January and February had then been placed before March, the month *Quintilis* would have been the fifth in name, but the seventh in reckoning. Besides, it is reasonable to conclude, that the month of March, dedicated by Romulus to the god *Mars*, should stand first; and April second, which has its name from *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, for in this month the women sacrifice to

* To suppose the Egyptians reckoned months for years, does indeed bring their computation pretty near the truth, with respect to the then age of the world; for they reckoned a succession of kings for the space of 36000 years. But that supposition would make the reigns of their kings unreasonably short. Besides, Herodotus says, the Egyptians were the first that began to compute by years; and that they made the year consist of twelve months. Their boasted antiquity must, therefore, be imputed to their stretching the fabulous part of their history too far back. As to Plutarch's saying that Egypt was a new country, it is strange that such a notion could ever be entertained by a man of his knowledge.

to that goddess, and bathe on the first of it, with crowns of myrtle on their heads. Some, however, say, April derives not its names from *Aphrodite*; but, as the very sound of the term seems to dictate, from *aperire, to open*, because the spring having then attained its vigour, it *opens* and unfolds the blossoms of plants. The next month, which is that of May, is so called from *Maia*, the mother of Mercury; for to him it is sacred. June is so styled from the *youthful* season of the year. Some again inform us, that these two months borrow their names from the two ages, *old* and *young*; for the older men are called *majores*, and the younger *juniores*. The succeeding months were denominated according to their order, of fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called July, in honour of Julius Cæsar, who overcame Pompey; and *Sextilis* August, from Augustus the second emperor of Rome. To the two following months Domitian gave his two names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, which lasted but a little while; for, when he was slain, they resumed their old names, September and October. The two last were the only ones that all along retained the original appellation which they had from their order. February, which was either added or transposed by Numa, is the month of purification; for so the term signifies; and then rites are celebrated for the purifying of trees*, and procuring a blessing on their fruits; then also the feast of the *Lupercalia* is held, whose ceremonies greatly resemble those of a lustration. January, the first month, is so named from *Janus*. And Numa seems to me to have taken away the precedency from March, which is denominated from the god of war, with a design to shew his preference of the political virtues to the martial. For this *Janus*, in the most remote antiquity, whether a demi-god or a king, being remarkable for his political

* Another reading has it, τοις φιτοις εναγιζουσι instead of τοις φυτοις; and then the sense will be, *they sacrifice to the dead*. Both have their authorities; the common reading being supported by a passage in Ovid, who takes notice that the *Luperci* purified the ground.—

Sectâ quia Pelle Luperci
Omne solum lustrant. Lib. ii. Fast.

And the other, which seems the better, rests upon the authority of Varro and others, who mention an offering to the dead in the month of February.—*Ab deis inferis Februaris appellatus quod tunc his parentetur.*

political abilities and his cultivation of ſociety, reclaimed men from their rude and ſavage manners; he is therefore repreſented with two faces, as having altered the former ſtate of the world, and given quite a new turn to life. He has alſo a temple at Rome with two gates, which they call the gates of war. It is the cuſtom for this temple to ſtand open in the time of war, and to be ſhut in time of peace. The latter was ſeldom the caſe, as the empire has been generally engaged in war on account of its great extent, and its having to contend with ſo many ſurrounding barbarous nations. It has, therefore, been ſhut only in the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar*, when he had conquered Antony: and before, in the conſultate of Marcus Attilius† and Titus Manlius, a little while; for a new war breaking out, it was not ſoon opened again. In Numa's reign, however, it was not opened for one day, but ſtood conſtantly ſhut during the ſpace of forty-three years, while uninterrupted peace reigned in every quarter. Not only the people of Rome were ſoftened and humanized by the juſtice and mildneſs of the king, but even the circumjacent cities, breathing, as it were, the ſame ſalutary and delightful air, began to change their behaviour. Like the Romans, they became deſirous of peace and good laws, of cultivating the ground, educating their children in tranquillity, and paying their homage to the gods. Italy then was taken up with feſtivals and ſacrifices, games and entertainments; the people, without any apprehenſions of danger, mixed in a friendly manner, and treated each other with mutual hoſpitality; the love of virtue and juſtice, as from the ſource of Numa's wiſdom, gently flowing upon all, and moving with the compoſure of *his* heart. Even the hyperbolical expreſſions of the poets fall ſhort of deſcribing the happineſs of thoſe days.

Secure *Arachne* ſpread her ſlender toils
O'er the broad buckler; eating ruſt conſum'd

The

* Auguſtus ſhut the temple of Janus three ſeveral times; one of which was in the year of Rome 750, before the birth of our Saviour, according to Iſaiah's prophecy, that all the world ſhould be bleſt with peace, when the Prince of Peace was born. This temple was alſo ſhut by Veſpaſian after his triumph over the Jews.

† Inſtead of Marcus we ſhould read Caius Attilius. Titus Manlius, his colleage, ſhut the temple of Janus, at the concluſion of the firſt Punic war.

The vengeful swords and once far-gleaming spears:
No more the trump of war swells its hoarse throat,
Nor robs the eye-lids of their genial slumber *.

We have no account of either war or insurrection in the state, during Numa's reign. Nay, he experienced neither enmity nor envy; nor did ambition dictate either open or private attempts against his crown. Whether it were the fear of the gods, who took so pious a man under their protection, or reverence of his virtue, or the singular good fortune of his times, that kept the manners of men pure and unsullied, he was an illustrious instance of that truth, which Plato several ages after ventured to deliver concerning government: *That the only sure prospect of deliverance from the evils of life will be, when the divine Providence shall so order it, that the regal power, invested in a prince who has the sentiments of a philosopher, shall render virtue triumphant over vice.* A man of such wisdom is not only happy in himself, but contributes by his instructions to the happiness of others. There is, in truth, no need either of force or menaces, to direct the multitude; for when they see virtue exemplified in so glorious a pattern as the life of their prince, they become wise of themselves, and endeavour, by friendship and unanimity, by a strict regard to justice and temperance, to form themselves to an innocent and happy life. This is the noblest end of government; and he is most worthy of the royal seat who can regulate the lives and dispositions of his subjects in such a manner. No one was more sensible of this than Numa.

As to his wives and children, there are great contradictions among historians. For some say, he had no wife but Tatia, nor any child but one daughter named Pompilia. Others, beside that daughter, given an account of four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus; every one of which left an honourable posterity, the Pomponii being descended from Pompon, the Pinarii from Pinus the Calpurnii from Calpus, and the Mamercii from Mamercus. These were surnamed *Regis* or *kings* †. But a third

* Plutarch took this passage from some excellent verses of Bacchylides in praise of peace, given us by Stobæus.

† *Rex* was the surname of the Æmilians and Marcians, but not of the Pomponians, the Pinarians, or Mamercians. The Pinarii were descended from a family who were priests of Hercules, and more ancient than the times of Numa.

third ſet of writers accuſe the former of forging theſe genealogies from Numa, in order to ingratiate themſelves with particular families. And they tell us, that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife, whom he married after he aſcended the throne. All, however, agree, that Pompilia was married to Marcius, ſon of that Marcius who perſuaded Numa to accept the crown; for he followed him to Rome, where he was enrolled a ſenator, and, after Numa's death, was competitor with Tullus Hoſtilius for the throne; but, failing in the enterprize, he ſtarved himſelf to death. His ſon Marcius, huſband to Pompilia, remained in Rome, and had a ſon named Ancus Marcius, who reigned after Tullus Hoſtilius. This ſon is ſaid to have been but five years old at the death of Numa.

Numa was carried off by no ſudden or acute diſtemper; but, as Piſo relates, waſted away inſenſibly with old age and a gentle decline. He was ſome few years above eighty when he died.

The neighbouring nations that were in friendſhip and alliance with Rome, ſtrove to make the honours of his burial equal to the happineſs of his life, attending with crowns and other public offerings. The ſenators carried the bier, and the miniſters of the gods walked in proceſſion. The reſt of the people, with the women and children, crowded to the funeral; not, as if they were attending the interment of an aged king, but as if they had loſt one of their beloved relations in the bloom of life; for they followed it with tears and loud lamentations. They did not burn the body *, becauſe (as we are told) he himſelf forbad it; but they made two ſtone coffins, and buried them under the Janiculum; the one containing his body, and the other the ſacred books which he had written,

* In the moſt ancient times they committed the bodies of the dead to the ground, as appears from the hiſtory of the patriarchs, But the Egyptians, from a vain deſire of preſerving their bodies from corruption after death, had them embalmed; perſons of condition with rich ſpices, and even the poor had theirs preſerved with ſalt. The Greeks, to obviate the inconveniences that might poſſibly happen from corruption, burnt the bodies of the dead; but Pliny tells us that Sylla was the firſt Roman, whoſe body was burnt. When Paganiſm was aboliſhed, the burning of dead bodies ceaſed with it; and in the belief of the reſurrection, Chriſtians committed their dead with due care and honour to the earth, to repoſe there till that great event.

written, in the ſame manner as the Grecian legiſlators wrote their tables of laws.

Numa had taken care, however, in his life-time, to inſtruct the prieſts in all that thoſe books contained; and to impreſs both the ſenſe and practice on their memories. He then ordered them to be buried with him, perſuaded that ſuch myſteries could not ſafely exiſt in lifeleſs writing. Influenced by the ſame reaſoning, it is ſaid, the Pythagoreans did not commit their precepts to writing, but entruſted them to the memories of ſuch as they thought worthy of ſo great a depoſit. And when they happened to communicate to an unworthy perſon their abſtruſe problems in geometry, they gave out that the gods threatened to avenge his profaneneſs and impiety with ſome great and ſignal calamity. Thoſe, therefore, may be well excuſed who endeavour to prove by ſo many reſemblances that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. Valerius Antias relates, that there were twelve books written in Latin concerning religion, and twelve more of philoſophy, in Greek, buried in that coffin. But four hundred years after*, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were conſuls, a prodigious fall of rain having waſhed away the earth that covered the coffins, and the lids falling off, one of them appeared entirely empty, without the leaſt remains of the body; in the other the books were found. Petilius, then Prætor, having examined them, made his report upon oath to the ſenate, that it appeared to him inconſiſtent both with juſtice and religion, to make them public: In conſequence of which all

* Plutarch probably wrote five hundred; for this happened in the year of Rome 573. "One Terentius," ſays Varo, [*ap. S. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei*] "had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and an huſbandman of his one day accidentally running over Numa's tomb, "turned up ſome of the legiſlator's books, wherein he gave his reaſons for eſtabliſhing the religion of the Romans as he left it. The "huſbandman carried theſe books to the prætor, and the prætor to "the ſenate, who, after having read his frivolous reaſons for his re-"ligious eſtabliſhments, agreed, that the books ſhould be deſtroyed, "in purſuance of Numa's intentions. It was accordingly decreed, that "the prætor ſhould throw them into the fire." But though Numa's motives for the religion he eſtabliſhed might be trivial enough, that was not the chief reaſon for ſuppreſſing them. The real, at leaſt the principal reaſon, was the many new ſuperſtitions, equally trivial, which the Romans had introduced, and the worſhip which they paid to images, contrary to Numa's appointment.

all the volumes were carried into the Comitium, and burnt.

Glory follows in the train of great men, and increaſes after their death; for envy does not long ſurvive them: nay, it ſometimes dies before them. The misfortunes, indeed, of the ſucceeding kings added luſtre to the character of Numa. Of the five that came after him, the laſt was driven from the throne, and lived long in exile; and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three were traitorouſly ſlain. As for Tullus Hoſtilius, who reigned next after Numa, he ridiculed and deſpiſed many of his beſt inſtitutions, particularly his religious ones, as effeminate and tending to inaction; for his view was to diſpoſe the people to war. He did not, however, abide by his irreligious opinions, but falling into a ſevere and complicated ſickneſs, he changed them, for a ſuperſtition*, very different from Numa's piety: Others, too, were infected with the ſame falſe principles, when they ſaw the manner of his death, which is ſaid to have happened by lightening †.

NUMA AND LYCURGUS

COMPARED.

HAVING gone through the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, we muſt now endeavour (though it is no eaſy matter) to *contraſt* their actions. The reſemblances between them however are obvious enough; their wiſdom, for inſtance, their piety, their talents for government, the inſtruction of their people, and their deriving their laws from a divine ſource. But the chief of their peculiar diſtinctions, was Numa's accepting a crown, and Lycurgus's relinquiſhing one. The former received a kingdom without ſeeking it, the latter reſigned one when he

* None are ſo ſuperſtitious in diſtreſs as thoſe, who, in their proſperity, have laughed at religion. The famous Canon Voſſius was no leſs remarkable for the greatneſs of his fears, than he was for the littleneſs of his faith.

† The palace of Tullus Hoſtilius was burnt down by lightening; and he, with his wife and children, periſhed in the flames. Though ſome hiſtorians ſay, that Ancus Marcius, who, as the grandſon of Numa, expected to ſucceed to the crown, took the opportunity of the ſtorm, to aſſaſſinate the king.

he had it in poſſeſſion. Numa was advanced to ſovereign power, when a private perſon and a ſtranger; Lycurgus reduced himſelf from a king to a private perſon. It was an honour to the one to attain to royal dignity by his juſtice; and it was an honour to the other to prefer juſtice to that dignity. Virtue rendered the one ſo reſpectable as to deſerve a throne, and the other ſo great as to be above it.

The ſecond obſervation is, that both managed their reſpective governments, as muſicians do the lyre, each in a different manner. Lycurgus wound up the ſtrings of Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, to a ſtronger tone: Numa ſoftened the high and harſh tone of Rome. The former had the more difficult taſk. For it was not their ſwords and breaſt plates, which he perſuaded his citizens to lay aſide, but their gold and ſilver, their ſumptuous beds and tables; what he taught them, was, not to devote their time to feaſts and ſacrifices, after quitting the rugged paths of war, but to leave entertainments and the pleaſures of wine, for the laborious exerciſes of arms and the wreſtling-ring. Numa effected his purpoſes in a friendly way by the regard and veneration the people had for his perſon; Lycurgus had to ſtruggle with conflicts and dangers, before he could eſtabliſh his laws. The genius of Numa was more mild and gentle, ſoftening and attempering the fiery diſpoſitions of his people to juſtice and peace. If we be obliged to admit the ſanguinary and unjuſt treatment of the Helotes, as a part of the politics of Lycurgus, we muſt allow Numa to have been far the more humane and equitable lawgiver, who permitted abſolute ſlaves to taſte of the honour of freemen, and in the *Saturnalia* to be entertained along with their maſters *. For this alſo they tell us was one of Numa's inſtitutions, that perſons in a ſtate of ſervitude, ſhould be admitted, at leaſt once a year, to the liberal enjoy-

* The *Saturnalia* was a feaſt celebrated on the 14th of the kalends of January. Beſide the ſacrifices in honour of Saturn, who, upon his retiring into Italy, introduced there the happineſs of the golden age, ſervants were at this time indulged in mirth and freedom, in memory of the equality which prevailed in that age; preſents were ſent from one friend to another; and no war was to be proclaimed, or offender executed. It is uncertain when this feſtival was inſtituted. Macrobius ſays, it was celebrated in Italy long before the building of Rome; and probably he is right, for the Greeks kept the ſame feaſt under the name of *Chronia*. MACROB, Saturn, l. 1. c. 7.

ment of those fruits which thy had helped to raise. Some however pretend to find in this custom the vestiges of the equality which subsisted in the times of Saturn, when there was neither servant nor master, but all were upon the same footing, and, as it were, of one family.

Both appear to have been equally studious to lead their people to temperance and sobriety. As to the other virtues, the one was more attached to fortitude, and the other to justice. Though possibly the different nature and quality of their respective governments, required a different process. For it was not through want of courage, but to guard against injustice, that Numa restrained his subjects from war: nor did Lycurgus endeavour to infuse a martial spirit into his people, with a view to encourage them to injure others, but to guard them against being injured by invasions. As each had the luxuriances of his citizens to prune, and their deficiencies to fill up, they must necessarily make very considerable alterations.

Numa's distribution of the people was indulgent and agreeable to the commonalty, as with him a various and mixt mass of goldsmiths, musicians, shoemakers, and other trades composed the body of the city. But Lycurgus inclined to the nobility in modelling his state, and he proceeded in a severe and unpopular manner; putting all mechanic arts in the hands of slaves and strangers, while the citizens were only taught how to mannage the spear and shield. They were only artists in war, and servants of Mars, neither knowing nor desiring to know any thing but how to obey, command and conquer their enemies. That the freemen might be entirely and once for all free, he would not suffer them to give any attention to their circumstances, but that whole business was to be left to the slaves and Helotes, in the same manner as the dressing of their meat. Numa made no such distinction as this: he only put a stop to the gain of rapine. Not solicitous to prevent an inequality of substance, he forbad no other means of increasing the fortunes of his subjects, nor their rising to the greatest opulence; neither did he guard against poverty, which at the same time made its way into, and spread in, the city. While there was no great disparity in the possessions of his citizens, but all were moderately provided, he should at first have combated the desire of gain; and, like Lycurgus, have watched against

againſt its inconveniences; for thoſe were by no means inconſiderable, but ſuch as gave birth to the many and great troubles that happened in the Roman ſtate.

As to an equal diviſion of lands, neither was Lycurgus to blame for making it, nor Numa for not making it. The equality which it cauſed, afforded the former a firm foundation for his government; and the latter finding a diviſion already made, and probably as yet ſubſiſting entire, had no occaſion to make a new one.

With reſpect to the community of wives and children, each took a politic method to baniſh jealouſy. A Roman huſband, when he had a ſufficient number of children, and was applied to by one that had none, might give up his wife to him*, and was at liberty both to divorce her, and to take her again. But the Lacedæmonian, while his wife remained in his houſe, and the marriage ſubſiſted in its original force, allowed his friend, who deſired to have children by her, the uſe of his bed: and (as we have already obſerved) many huſbands invited to their houſes ſuch men as were likely to give them healthy and well made children. The difference between the two cuſtoms, is this, that the Lacedæmonians appeared very eaſy and unconcerned about an affair that in other places cauſes ſo much diſturbance, and conſumes men's hearts with jealouſy and ſorrow; whilſt among the Romans there was a modeſty, which veiled the matter with a new contract, and ſeemed to declare that a community in wedlock is intolerable?

Yet farther, Numa's ſtrictneſs as to virgins, tended to form them to that modeſty which is the ornament of their ſex: but the great liberty which Lycurgus gave them, brought upon them the cenſure of the poets, particularly Ibycus: for they call them *Phænomerides*, and *Andromancis*, Euripides deſcribes them in this manner,

> Theſe quit their homes, ambitious to diſplay,
> Amidſt the youths, their vigour in the race,
> Or feats of wreſtling, whilſt their airy robe
> Flies back, and leaves their limbs uncover'd.—

The ſkirts of the habit which the virgins wore, were not ſewed to the bottom, but opened at the ſides as they walked,

* It does not appear that Numa gave any ſanction to this liberty. Plutarch himſelf ſays a little below, that no divorce was known in Rome till long after.

walked, and discovered the thigh; as Sophocles very plainly writes:

> Still in the light dress struts the vain Hermione,
> Whose opening folds display the naked thigh.

Consequently their behaviour is said to have been too bold, and too masculine, in particular to their husbands. For they considered themselves as absolute mistresses in their houses; nay, they wanted a share in affairs of state, and delivered their sentiments with great freedom concerning the most weighty matters. But Numa, though he preserved entire to the matrons all the honour and respect that were paid them by their husbands in the time of Romulus, when they endeavoured by kindness to compensate for the rape, yet he obliged them to behave with great reserve, and to lay aside all impertinent curiosity. He taught them to be sober, and accustomed them to silence, entirely to abstain from wine*, and not to speak even of the most necessary affairs except in the presence of their husbands. When a woman once appeared in the *forum* to plead her own cause, it is reported that the senate ordered the oracle to be consulted, what this strange event portended to the city†. Nay, what is recorded of a few infamous women, is a proof of the obedience and meekness of the Roman matrons in general. For as our historians give us accounts of those who first carried war into the bowels of their country, or against their brothers, or were first guilty of parricide; so the Romans relate, that Spurius Carvilius was the first among them that divorced his wife, when no such thing had happened before for two hundred and thirty years from the building of Rome‡: and that Thalæa, the wife of Pinarius,

* Romulus made the drinking of wine, as well as adultery, a capital crime in women. For he said, adultery opens the door to all sorts of crimes, and wine opens the door to adultery. The severity of this law was softened in the succeeding ages; the women who were overtaken in liquor, were not condemned to die, but to lose their dowers.

† What then appeared so strange, became afterwards common enough; insomuch that every troublesome woman of that kind, was called Afrania, from a senator's wife of that name, who busied herself much in courts of justice. The eloquent Hortensia, daughter to the orator Hortensius, pleaded with such success for the women, when the triumvirs had laid a fine upon them, that she got a considerable part of it remitted.

‡ It was in the 520th year of Rome that this happened.

was the first that quarrelled, having a dispute with her mother-in-law Gegania, in the reign of Tarquin *the proud.* So well framed for the preserving of decency and a propriety of behaviour, were this lawgiver's regulations with respect to marriage.

Agreeable to the education of virgins in Sparta, were the directions of Lycurgus as to the time of their being married. For he ordered them to be married when both their age and wishes led them to it; that the company of a husband, which nature now required, might be the foundation of kindness and love, and not of fear and hatred, which would be the consequence when nature was forced; and that their bodies might have strength to bear the troubles of breeding and the pangs of child-birth; the propagation of children being looked upon as the only end of marriage. But the Romans married their daughters at the age of twelve years, or under; that both their bodies and manners might come pure and untainted into the management of their husbands. It appears then that the former institution more naturally tended to the procreation of children, and the latter to the forming of the manners for the matrimonial union.

However, in the education of the boys in regulating their classes, and laying down the whole method of their exercises, their diversions, and their eating at a common table, Lycurgus stands distinguished, and leaves Numa only upon a level with ordinary lawgivers. For Numa left it to the option or convenience of parents, to bring up their sons to agriculture, to ship-building, to the business of a brasier, or the art of a musician. As if it were not necessary for one design to run through the education of them all, and for each individual to have the same bias given him; but, as if they were all like passengers in a ship, who coming each from a different employment, and with a different intent, stand upon their common defence in time of danger, merely out of fear for themselves or their property, and on other occasions are attentive only to their private ends. In such a case common legislators would have been excusable, who might have failed through ignorance or want of power; but should not so wise a man as Numa, who took upon him the government of a state so lately formed, and not likely to make the least opposition to any thing he proposed, have considered it as his first care, to give the children such

ſuch a bent of education, and the youth ſuch a mode of exerciſe, as would prevent any great difference or confuſion in their manners, that ſo they might be formed from their infancy, and perſuaded to walk together, in the ſame paths of virtue. Lycurgus found the utility of this in ſeveral reſpects, and particularly in ſecuring the continuance of his laws. For the oath the Spartans had taken, would have availed but little, if the youth had not been already tinctured with his diſcipline, and trained to a zeal for his eſtabliſhment. Nay, ſo ſtrong and deep was the tincture, that the principal laws which he enacted, continued in force for more than five hundred years. But the primary view of Numa's government, which was to ſettle the Romans in laſting peace and tranquillity, immediately vaniſhed with him: and, after his death, the temple of Janus, which he had kept ſhut (as if he had really held war in priſon and ſubjection) was ſet wide open, and Italy was filled with blood *. The beautiful pile of juſtice which he had reared, preſently fell to the ground, being without the cement of education.

You will ſay then, was not Rome bettered by her wars? A queſtion this which wants a long anſwer, to ſatisfy ſuch as place the happineſs of a ſtate in riches, luxury, and an extent of dominion, rather than in ſecurity, equity, temperance, and content. It may ſeem, however, to afford an argument in favour of Lycurgus, that the Romans, upon quitting the diſcipline of Numa, ſoon arrived at a much higher degree of power; whereas the Lacedæmonians, as ſoon as they departed from the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, from being the moſt reſpectable people of Greece, became the meaneſt, and were in danger of being abſolutely deſtroyed. On the other hand, it muſt be acknowledged ſomething truly great and divine in Numa, to be invited from another country to the throne; to make ſo many alterations by means of perſuaſion only; to reign undiſturbed over a city not yet united in itſelf, without the uſe of an armed force (which Lycurgus was obliged to have recourſe to, when he availed himſelf of the aid of the nobility againſt the commons), and, by his wiſdom and juſtice alone, to conciliate and combine all his ſubjects in peace.

SOLON.

* In the wars with the Fidenates, the Albans, and the Latins.

SOLON *.

DIDYMUS the grammarian, in his anſwer to Aſclepiades concerning the laws of Solon, cites the teſtimony of one Philocles, by which he would prove Solon the ſon of Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of others that have wrote of him. For they all with one voice declare that Execeſtides was his father; a man of moderate fortune and power, but of the nobleſt family in Athens, being deſcended from Codrus. His mother, according to Heraclides of Pontus, was couſin-german to the mother of Piſiſtratus. This tie of kindred at firſt united Solon and Piſiſtratus in a very intimate friendſhip, which was drawn cloſer (if we may believe ſome writers) by the regard which the former had for the beauty and excellent qualities of the latter †. Hence we may believe it was, that when they differed afterwards about matters of ſtate, this diſſenſion broke not out into any harſh or ungenerous treatment of each other; but their firſt union kept ſome hold of their hearts, *ſome ſparks of the flame ſtill remained*, and the tenderneſs of former friendſhip was not quite forgotten. . . . .

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Solon's father having hurt his fortune ‡, as Hermippus tells us, by indulging his great and munificent ſpirit, though

* Solon flouriſhed about the year before Chriſt 597.

† Piſiſtratus was remarkably courteous, affable, and liberal. He had always two or three ſlaves near him with bags of ſilver coin: when he ſaw any man look ſickly, or heard that any died inſolvent, he relieved the one, and buried the others at his own expence. If he perceived people melancholy he inquired the cauſe, and if he found it was poverty, he furniſhed them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly. Nay, he left even his gardens and orchards open, and the fruit free to the citizens. His looks were eaſy and ſedate, his language ſoft and modeſt. In ſhort, if his virtues had been genuine, and not diſſembled, with a view to the tyranny of Athens, he would (as Solon told him) have been the beſt citizen in it.

‡ Ariſtotle reckons Solon himſelf among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it. The truth is, that Solon was never rich, it may be, becauſe he was always honeſt. In his youth he

was

though the ſon might have been ſupported by his friends, yet as he was of a family that had long been aſſiſting to others, he was aſhamed to accept of aſſiſtance himſelf; and therefore in his younger years applied himſelf to merchandize. Some, however, ſay that he travelled, rather to gratify his curioſity and extend his knowledge, than to raiſe an eſtate. For he profeſſed his love of wiſdom, and when far advanced in years made this declaration, *I grow old in the purſuit of learning.* He was not too much attached to wealth, as we may gather from the following verſes:

The man that boaſts of golden ſtores,
Of grain that loads his bending floors,
Of fields with freſh'ning herbage green,
Where bounding ſteeds and herds are ſeen,
I call not happier than the ſwain
Whoſe limbs are ſound, whoſe food is plain,
Whoſe joys a blooming wife endears,
Whoſe hours a ſmiling offspring cheers.

Yet in another place he ſays:

The flow of riches, though deſir'd,
Life's real goods, if well acquir'd,
Unjuſtly let me never gain,
Leſt vengeance follow in their train.

Indeed, a good man, a valuable member of ſociety, ſhould neither ſet his heart upon ſuperfluities, nor reject the uſe of what is neceſſary and convenient. And in thoſe times, as Heſiod † informs us, no buſineſs was looked upon as a diſparagement, nor did any trade cauſe a

was mightily addicted to poetry. And Plato (in *Timæo*) ſays, that if he had finiſhed all his poems, and particularly the Hiſtory of the Atlantic Iſland, which he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to reviſe and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Heſiod, nor any other ancient poet would have been more famous. It is evident both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a perſon not only of exalted virtue, but of a pleaſant and agreeable temper. He conſidered men as men; and keeping both their capacity for virtue, and their proneneſs to evil in his view, he adapted his laws ſo as to ſtrengthen and ſupport the one, and to check and keep under the other. His inſtitutions are as remarkable for their ſweetneſs and practicability, as thoſe of Lycurgus are for harſhneſs and forcing human nature.

* This paſſage of Solon's, and another below, are now found among the ſentences of Theognis.

† Lib. Ob. & Di. ver. 309.

a disadvantageous distinction. The profession of merchandize was honourable, as it brought home the produce of barbarous countries, engaged the friendship of kings, and opened a wide field of knowledge and experience. Nay, some merchants have been founders of great cities; Protus, for instance, that built Marseilles, for whom the Gauls about the Rhone had the highest esteem. Thales also, and Hippocrates the mathematician, are said to have had their share in commerce; and the oil that Plato disposed of in Egypt *, defrayed the expence of his travels.

If Solon was too expensive and luxurious in his way of living, and indulged his poetical vein in his description of pleasure too freely for a philosopher, it is imputed to his mercantile life. For as he passed through many and great dangers, he might surely compensate them with a little relaxation and enjoyment. But that he placed himself rather in the class of the poor than the rich, is evident from these lines:

For vice, tho' PLENTY fills her horn,
And virtue sinks in want and scorn;
Yet never, sure, shall Solon change
His truth for wealth's most easy range!
Since virtue lives, and truth shall stand,
While wealth eludes the grasping hand.

He seems to have made use of his poetical talent at first, not for any serious purpose, but only for amusement, and to fill up his hours of leisure; but afterwards he inserted moral sentences, and interwove many political transactions in his poems, not for the sake of recording or remembering them, but sometimes by way of apology for his own administration, and sometimes to exhort, to advise, or to censure the citizens of Athens. Some are of opinion, that he attempted to put his laws too in verse, and they give us this beginning.

Supreme of gods, whose power we first address
This plan to honour, and these laws to bless.

Like most of the sages of those times, he cultivated chiefly that part of moral philosophy which treats of civil obligations.

* It was usual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judea. It is said in the prophet Hosea, (c. xii. v. 1.) *Ephraim carrieth oil into Egypt.*

gations. His phyſics were of a very ſimple and ancient caſt, as appears from the following lines:

From cloudy vapours falls the treaſur'd ſnow,
And the fierce hail: from light'ning's rapid blaze
Springs the loud thunder—winds diſturb the deep,
Than whoſe unruffled breaſt, no ſmoother ſcene
In all the works of nature!———

Upon the whole, Thales ſeems to have been the only philoſopher, who then carried his ſpeculations beyond things in common uſe, while the reſt of the wiſe men maintained their character by rules for ſocial life.

They are reported to have met at Delphi, and afterwards at Corinth upon the invitation of Periander, who made proviſion for their entertainment. But what contributed moſt to their honour, was their ſending the *tripod* from one to another, with an ambition to outvie each other in modeſty. The ſtory is this: When ſome Coans were drawing a net, certain ſtrangers from Miletus bought the draught unſeen. It proved to be a golden tripod, which Helen, as ſhe ſailed from Troy, is ſaid to have thrown in there, in compliance with an ancient oracle. A diſpute ariſing at firſt between the ſtrangers and the fiſhermen about the tripod, and afterwards extending itſelf to the ſtates to which they belonged, ſo as almoſt to engage them in hoſtilities, the prieſteſs of Apollo took up the matter, by ordering that the wiſeſt man they could find ſhould have the tripod. And firſt it was ſent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans voluntarily preſenting that to one of the Mileſians, for which they would have gone to war with them all. Thales declared that Bias was a wiſer man than he, ſo it was brought to him. He ſent it to another, as wiſer ſtill. After making a farther circuit, it came to Thales the ſecond time. And at laſt, it was carried from Miletus to Thebes, and dedicated to the Iſmenian Apollo. Theophraſtus relates, that the tripod was firſt ſent to Bias at Priene; that Bias ſent it back again to Thales at Miletus; that ſo having paſſed through the hands of the ſeven, it came round to Bias again, and at laſt was ſent to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This is the moſt current account; yet ſome ſay the preſent was not a tripod, but a bowl ſent by Crœſus; and others, that it was a cup which one Bathycles had left for that purpoſe.

We have a particular account of a converſation which Solon had with Anacharſis*, and of another he had with Thales. Anacharſis went to Solon's houſe at Athens, knocked at the door, and ſaid *he was a ſtranger who deſired to enter into engagements of friendſhip and mutual hoſpitality with him.* Solon anſwered, *Friendſhips are beſt formed at home.* *Then do you,* ſaid Anacharſis, *who are at home, make me your friend, and receive me into your houſe.* Struck with the quickneſs of his repartee, Solon gave him a kind welcome, and kept him ſome time with him, being then employed in public affairs and in modelling his laws. When Anacharſis knew what Solon was about, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the abſurdity of imagining he could reſtrain the avarice and injuſtice of his citizens by *written laws, which in all reſpects reſembled ſpiders' webs, and would, like them, only entangle and hold the poor and weak, while the rich and powerful eaſily broke through them.* To this Solon replied, *Men keep their agreements, when it is an advantage to both parties not to break them; and he would ſo frame his laws, as to make it evident to the Athenians, that it would be more for their intereſt to obſerve them to tranſgreſs them.* The event, however, ſhewed, that Anacharſis was nearer the truth in his conjecture, than Solon was in his hope. Anacharſis having ſeen an aſſembly of the people at Athens, ſaid, *he was ſurpriſed at this, that in Greece wiſe men pleaded cauſes, and fools determined them.*

When Solon was entertained by Thales at Miletus, he expreſſed ſome wonder that *he did not marry and raiſe a family.* To this Thales gave no immediate anſwer; but ſome days after he inſtructed a ſtranger to ſay, That *he came from Athens ten days before.* Solon inquiring, *What news there was at Athens,* the man, according to his inſtructions,

* The Scythians, long before the days of Solon, had been celebrated for their frugality, their temperance, and juſtice. Anacharſis was one of theſe Scythians, and a prince of the blood. He went to Athens about the forty-ſeventh olympiad, that is, 590 years before Chriſt. His good ſenſe, his knowledge, and great experience made him paſs for one of the ſeven wiſe men. But the greateſt and wiſeſt men have their inconſiſtencies: for ſuch it certainly was, for Anacharſis to carry the Grecian worſhip, the rights of Cybele, into Scythia, contrary to the laws of his country. Though he performed thoſe rites privately in a woody part of the country, a Scythian happened to ſee him, and acquainted the king with it, who came immediately, and ſhot him with an arrow upon the ſpot. HERODOT. l. iv. c. 76.

instructions, said, *None, except the funeral of a young man, which was attended by the whole city. For he was the son (as they told me) of a person of great honour, and of the highest reputation for virtue, who was then abroad upon his travels. What a miserable man is he,* said Solon: *but what was his name? I have heard his name,* answered the stranger, *but do not recollect it. All I remember is, that there was much talk of his wisdom and justice.* Solon, whose apprehensions increased with every reply, was now much disconcerted, and mentioned his own name, asking, *Whether it was not Solon's son that was dead?* The stranger answering in the affirmative, he began to beat his head, and to do and say such things as are usual to men in a transport of grief*. Then Thales, taking him by the hand, said with a smile, *These things, which strike down so firm a man as Solon, kept me from marriage and from having children. But take courage, my good friend, for not a word of what has been told you is true.* Hermippus says, he took this story from Patæcus, who used to boast he had the soul of Æsop.

But after all, to neglect the procuring of what is necessary or convenient in life, for fear of losing it, would be acting a very mean and absurd part. By the same rule a man might refuse the enjoyment of riches, or honour, or wisdom, because it is possible for him to be deprived of them. Even the excellent qualities of the mind, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, we see destroyed by poisonous drugs or by the violence of some disease. Nay, Thales himself could not be secure from fears, by living single, unless he would renounce all interest in his friends, his relations, and his country. Instead of that, however, he is said to have adopted his sister's son, named Cybisthus. Indeed the soul has not only a principle of sense, of understanding, of memory, but of love; and when it has nothing at home to fix its affection upon, it unites itself, and cleaves to something abroad. Strangers or persons of spurious birth often insinuate themselves into such a man's heart, as into a house or land that has no lawful heirs, and, together with love, bring a train of cares and apprehensions for them. It is not uncommon to hear persons of a morose

* Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, Solon being desired not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense, *And for this cause I weep.*

rose temper, who talk against marriage and a family, uttering the most abject complaints, when a child which they have had by a slave or a concubine, happens to sicken or die. Nay, some have expressed a very great regret upon the death of dogs and horses; whilst others have borne the loss of valuable children, without any affliction, or at least without any indecent sorrow, and have passed the rest of their days with calmness and composure. It is, certainly, weakness, not affection, which brings infinite troubles and fears upon men, who are not fortified by reason against the power of fortune; who have no enjoyment of a present good, because of their apprehensions, and the real anguish they find in considering that, in time, they may be deprived of it. No man, surely, should take refuge in poverty, to guard against the loss of an estate; nor remain in the unsocial state of celibacy, that he may have neither friends nor children to lose; he should be armed by reason against all events. But, perhaps, we have been too diffuse in these sentiments.

When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war against the Megarensians; for the isle of Salamis, made a law, that no one for the future, under pain of death, should either by speech or writing propose that the city should assert its claim to that island; Solon was very uneasy at so dishonourable a decree, and seeing great part of the youth desirous to begin the war again, being restrained from it only by fear of the law, he feigned himself insane*; and a report spread from his house into the city, that he was out of his senses. Privately, however, he had composed an elegy, and got it by heart, in order to repeat it in public; thus prepared, he sallied out unexpectedly into the market-place with a cap upon his head†. A great number of people flocking about him there, he got upon the heralds' stone, and sung the elegy which begins thus,

> Hear and attend: from Salamis I came
> To shew your error.

This

* When the Athenians were delivered from their fears by the death of Epaminondas, they began to squander away upon shews and plays the money that had been assigned for the pay of the army and navy, and at the same time they made it death for any one to propose a reformation. In that case, Demosthenes did not, like Solon, attack their error, under a pretence of insanity, but boldly and resolutely spoke against it, and by the force of his eloquence brought them to correct it.

† None wore caps but the sick.

This composition is entitled *Salamis*, and consists of a hundred very beautiful lines. When Solon had done, his friends began to express their admiration, and Pisistratus, in particular, exerted himself in persuading the people to comply with his directions; whereupon they repealed the law, once more undertook the war, and invested Solon with the command. The common account of his proceedings is this. He sailed with Pisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Ceres there, he sent a trusty person to Salamis, who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they had a mind to seize the principal Athenian matrons, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians readily embracing the proposal, and sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island; and causing the women directly to withdraw, ordered a number of young men, whose faces were yet smooth, to dress themselves in their habits, caps, and shoes. Thus with weapons concealed under their clothes, they were to dance and play by the sea-side, till the enemy was landed, and the vessel near enough to be seized. Matters being thus ordered, the Megarensians were deceived with the appearance, and ran confusedly on shore, striving which should first lay hold on the women. But they met with so warm a reception, that they were cut off to a man: and the Athenians embarking immediately for Salamis, took possession of the island.

Others deny that it was recovered in this manner, and tell us, that Apollo, being first consulted at Delphi, gave this answer,

> Go, first propitiate the country's chiefs.
> Hid in Æsopus' lap; who, when interr'd,
> Fac'd the declining sun.

Upon this, Solon crossed the sea by night, and offered sacrifices in Salamis, to the heroes Periphemus and Cichreus. Then taking five hundred Athenian volunteers who had obtained a decree, that if they conquered the island, the government of it should be invested in them, he sailed with a number of fishing-vessels and one galley of thirty oars for Salamis, where he cast anchor at a point which looks towards Eubœa.

The

The Megarensians that were in the place, having heard a confused report of what had happened, betook themselves in a disorderly manner to arms, and sent a ship to discover the enemy. As the ship approached too near, Solon took it, and securing the crew, put in their place some of the bravest of the Athenians, with orders to make the best of their way to the city, as privately as possible. In the mean time, with the rest of his men, he attacked the Megarensians by land; and while these were engaged, those from the ship took the city. A custom which obtained afterwards, seems to bear witness to the truth of this account. For an Athenian ship, once a year, passed silently to Salamis, and the inhabitants coming down upon it with noise and tumult, one man in armour leaped ashore, and ran shouting towards the promontory of Sciradium, to meet those that were advancing by land. Near that place is a temple of Mars erected by Solon: for there it was that he defeated the Megarensians, and dismissed, upon certain conditions, such as were not slain in battle.

However, the people of Megara persisted in their claim till both sides had severely felt the calamities of war, and then they referred the affair to the decision of the Lacedæmonians. Many authors relate that Solon availed himself of a passage in Homer's catalogue of ships, which he alleged before the arbitrators, dexterously inserting a line of his own: for to this verse,

> Ajax from Salamis twelve ships commands,

he is said to have added,

> And ranks his forces with th' Athenian power *.

But the Athenians look upon this as an idle story, and tell us, that Solon made it appear to the judges, that Philæus and Eurysaces, sons of Ajax, being admitted by the Athenians to the freedom of their city, gave up the island to them, and removed, the one to Brauron, and the other to Melite in Attica: likewise, that the tribe of the Philaidæ, of which Pisistratus was, had its name from that Philæus. He brought another argument against the Megarensians,

* This line could be no sufficient evidence; for there are many passages in Homer which prove that the ships of Ajax were stationed near the Thessalians.

garensians, from the manner of burying in Salamis, which was agreeable to the custom of Athens, and not to that of Megara; for the Megarensians inter the dead with their faces to the east, and the Athenians turn theirs to the west. On the other hand, Hereas of Megara insists, that the Megarensians likewise turn the faces of the dead to the west. and, what is more, that, like the people of Salamis, they put three or four corpses in one tomb, whereas the Athenians have a separate tomb for each. But Solon's cause was farther assisted by certain oracles of Apollo, in which the island was called *Ionian* Salamis. This matter was determined by five Spartans, Critolaides, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

Solon acquired considerable honour and authority in Athens by this affair; but he was much more celebrated among the Greeks in general, for negociating succours for the temple at Delphi, against the insolent and injurious behaviour of the Cirrhæans*, and persuading the Greeks to arm for the honour of the god. At his motion, it was that the *Amphictyons* declared war; as Aristotle, among others, testifies, in his book concerning the Pythian games, where he attributes that decree to Solon. He was not, however, appointed general in that war, as Hermippus relates from Euanthes the Samian. For Æschines the orator says no such thing; and we find in the records of Delphi, that Alcmæon, not Solon, commanded the Athenians on that occasion.

The

* The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town seated in the bay of Corinth, after having by repeated incursions wasted the territory of Delphi, besieged the city itself from a desire of making themselves masters of the riches contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this being sent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the states general of Greece, Solon advised that this matter should be universally resented. Accordingly Clysthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was sent commander in chief against the Cirrhæans; Alcmæon was general of the Athenian quota; and Solon went as counsellor or assistant to Clysthenes. When the Greek army had besieged Cirrha some time without any great appearance of success, Apollo was consulted, who answered, that they should not be able to reduce the place, till the waves of the Cirrhæan sea washed the territories of Delphi. This answer struck the army with surprize, from which Solon extricated them by advising Clysthenes to consecrate the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo, whence it would follow that the sea must wash the sacred coast. Pausanias *(in Phocicis)* mentions another stratagem, which was not worthy of the justice of Solon. Cirrha, however, was taken, and became henceforth the arsenal of Delphi.

The execrable proceedings againſt the accomplices of Cylon *, had long occaſioned great troubles in the Athenian ſtate. The conſpirators had taken ſanctuary in Minerva's temple; but Megacles, then Archon, perſuaded them to quit it, and ſtand trial, under the notion that if they tied a thread to the ſhrine of the goddeſs, and kept hold of it, they would ſtill be under her protection. But when they came over againſt the temple of the furies, the thread broke of itſelf; upon which Megacles and his colleagues ruſhed upon them and ſeized them, as if they had loſt their privilege. Such as were out of the temple were ſtoned; thoſe that fled to the altars were cut in pieces there; and they only were ſpared who made application to the wives of the magiſtrates. From that time thoſe magiſtrates were called *execrable*, and became objects of the public hatred. The remains of Cylon's faction afterwards recovered ſtrength, and kept up the quarrel with the deſcendants of Megacles. The diſpute was greater than ever, and the two parties more exaſperated, when Solon, whoſe authority was now very great, and others of the principal Athenians, interpoſed, and by intreaties and arguments perſuaded the perſons called *execrable*, to ſubmit to juſtice and a fair trial, before three hundred judges ſelected from the nobility. Myron, of the *Phylenſian* ward carried on the impeachment, and they were condemned: As many as were alive, were driven into exile; and the bodies of the dead dug up and caſt out beyond the borders of Attica. Amidſt theſe diſturbances, the

* There was, for a long time after the democracy took place, a ſtrong party againſt it, who left no meaſures untried, in order, if poſſible, to reſtore their ancient form of government. Cylon, a man of quality, and ſon-in-law to Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, repined at the ſudden change of the magiſtrates, and had the thoughts of aſking that as a favour, which he apprehended to be due to his birthright. He formed, therefore, a deſign to ſeize the citadel, which he put in practice in the forty-fifth olympiad, when many of the citizens were gone to the olympic games. Megacles, who was at that time chief archon, with the other magiſtrates and the whole power of Athens, immediately beſieged the conſpirators there, and reduced them to ſuch diſtreſs, that Cylon and his brother fled, and left the meaner ſort to ſhift for themſelves. Such as eſcaped the ſword took refuge, as Plutarch relates, in Minerva's temple; and though they deſerved death for conſpiring againſt the government, yet, as the magiſtrates put them to death in breach of the privilege of ſanctuary, they brought upon themſelves the indignation of the ſuperſtitious Athenians, who deemed ſuch a breach a greater crime than treaſon.

the Megarensians renewed the war, took Nisæa from the Athenians, and recovered Salamis once more.

About this time the city was likewise afflicted with superstitious fears and strange appearances: and the soothsayers declared, that there were certain abominable crimes which wanted expiation, pointed out by the entrails of the victims. Upon this they sent to Crete for Epimenides the *Phæstian**, who is reckoned the seventh among the wise men, by those that do not admit Periander into the number. He was reputed a man of great piety, beloved by the gods, and skilled in matters of religion, particularly in what related to inspiration and the sacred mysteries: therefore the men of those days called him the son of the nymph Balte, and one of the *Curetes* revived. When he arrived at Athens, he contracted a friendship with Solon, and privately gave him considerable assistance, preparing the way for the reception of his laws. For he taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by intermixing certain sacrifices with the funeral solemnities, and abolishing the cruel and barbarous customs that had generally prevailed among the women before. What is of still greater consequence, by expiations, lustrations, and the erecting of temples and shrines, he hallowed and purified the city, and made the people more observant of justice and more inclined to union.

When he had seen Munychia, and considered it some time, he is reported to have said to those about him †, *How*

* This Epimenides was a very extraordinary person. Diogenes Laërtius tells us, that he was the inventor of the art of lustrating or purifying houses, fields, and persons; which, if spoken of Greece, may be true; but Moses had long before taught the Hebrews something of this nature. (*Vide* Levit. xvi.) Epimenides took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the Areopagus, and turning them loose, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. There were, however, other ceremonies practised for the purpose of lustration, of which Tzetzes, in his poetical chronicle, gives a particular account, but which are too trifling to be mentioned here.

† This prediction was fulfilled 270 years after, when Antipater constrained the Athenians to admit his garrison into that place. Besides this prophecy, Epimenides uttered another during his stay at Athens; for hearing that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the Persian power

How blind is man to futurity! If the Athenians could foresee what trouble that place will give them, they would tear it in pieces with their teeth, rather than it should stand. Something similar to this is related of Thales. For he ordered the Milesians to bury him in a certain refuse and neglected place, and foretold, at the same time, that their market-place would one day stand there. As for Epimenides, he was held in admiration at Athens; great honours were paid him, and many valuable presents made: yet he would accept of nothing but a branch of the sacred olive, which they gave him at his request; and with that he departed.

When the troubles about Cylon's affair were over, and the sacrilegious persons removed, in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government; for there were as many parties among them as there were different tracts of land in their country. The inhabitanrs of the mountainous part were, it seems for a democracy; those of the plains for an oligarchy; and those of the sea-coasts contending for a mixed kind of government, hindered the other two from gaining their point. At the same time, the inequality between the poor and the rich occasioned the greatest discord, and the state was in so dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no way to quell the seditious, or to save it from ruin, but changing it to a monarchy. So greatly were the poor in debt to the rich, that they were obliged either to pay them a sixth part of the produce of the land (whence they were called *Hectemorii* and *Thetes*) or else to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment. Accordingly some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Nay, some parents were forced to sell their own children, (for no law forbad it) and to quit the city, to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers. But the greater number, and men of the most spirit, agreed to stand by each other, and to bear such impositions no longer. They determined to choose a trusty person for their leader to deliver those who had failed in their time of

power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy, for that the Persians would not for many years attempt any thing against the Greeks, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they thought to destroy. *Laert. in Vita & Rimen.*

of payment, to divide the land, and to give an entire new face to the commonwealth.

Then the most prudent of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, as a man least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor. Him, therefore, they intreated to assist the public in this exigency, and to compose these differences. Phanias the Lesbian asserts, indeed, that Solon, to save the state, dealt artfully with both parties, and privately promised the poor a division of the lands, and the rich a confirmation of their securities. At first he was loth to take the administration upon him, by reason of the avarice of some and the insolence of others; but was, however, chosen archon next after Philombrotus, and at the same time arbitrator and lawgiver; the rich accepting of him readily, as one of *them*, and the poor, as a good and worthy man. They tell us too, that a saying of his, which he had let fall some time before, that *equality causes no war*, was then much repeated, and pleased both the rich and the poor; the latter expecting to come to a balance by their numbers and by the measure of divided lands, and the former to preserve an equality at least, by their dignity and power. Thus both parties being in great hopes, the heads of them were urgent with Solon to make himself king, and endeavoured to persuade him, that he might with better assurance take upon him the direction of a city where he had the supreme authority. Nay, many of the citizens, that leaned to neither party, seeing the intended change difficult to be effected by reason and law, were not against the entrusting of the government to the hands of one wise and just man. Some, moreover, acquaint us, that he received this oracle from Apollo,

> Seize, seize the helm; the reeling vessel guide:
> With aiding patriots stem the raging tide.

His friends, in particular told him it would appear that he wanted courage, if he rejected the monarchy for fear of the name of tyrant; as if the sole and supreme power would not soon become a lawful sovereignty through the virtues of him that received it. Thus formerly (said they) the Eubœans set up Tynnondas and lately the Mitylenæans

næans Pittacus for their prince*, None of these things moved Solon from his purpose, and the answer he is said to have given his friends is this, *Absolute monarchy is a fair field, but it has no outlet.* And in one of his poems he thus addresses himself to his friend Phocus,

——If I spared my country,
If gilded violence and tyrannic sway
Could never charm me; thence no shame accrues:
Still the mild honour of my name I boast,
And find my empire there.——

Whence it is evident that his reputation was very great, before he appeared in the character of a legislator. As for the ridicule he was exposed to for rejecting kingly power, he has described it in the following verses:

Nor wisdom's palm, nor deep-laid policy
Can Solon boast. For when its noblest blessings
Heaven pour'd into his lap, he spurn'd them from him.
Where was his sense and spirit, when enclos'd
He found the choicest prey, nor deign'd to draw it?
Who, to command fair Athens but one day,
Would not himself, with all his race, have fallen
Contented on the morrow?

Thus he has introduced the multitude and men of low minds, as discoursing about him. But though he rejected absolute power, he proceeded with spirit enough in the administration; he did not make any concessions in behalf of the powerful, nor, in the framing of his laws, did he indulge the humour of his constituents. Where the former establishment was tolerable, he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife, lest he should put the whole in disorder, and not have power to settle or compose it afterwards in the temperature he could wish. He only made such alterations as he might bring the people to acquiesce in by persuasion, or compel them to by his authority, making, (as he says) *force and right conspire.* Hence

* Pittacus one of the seven wise men of Greece, made himself master of Mitylene; for which, Alcæus, who was of the same town, cotemporary with Pittacus, and, as a poet, a friend to liberty, satirized him, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus disregarded his censures, and having by his authority quelled the seditions of his citizens, and established peace and harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his power, and restored his country to its liberty.

Hence it was, that having the question afterwards put to him, *Whether he had provided the best of laws for the Athenians*, he answered, *The best they were capable of receiving*. And as the moderns observe, that the Athenians used to qualify the harshness of things by giving them softer and politer names, calling whores *mistresses*, tributes *contributions*, garrisons *guards*, and prisons *castles*; so Solon seems to be the first that distinguished the cancelling of debts by the name of a *discharge*. For this was the first of his public acts, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man, for the future, should take the body of his debtor for security. Though Androtion and some others say, that it was not by the cancelling of debts, but by moderating the interest, that the poor were relieved, they thought themselves so happy in it, that they gave the name of *discharge* to this act of humanity, as well as to the enlarging of measures and the value of money, which went along with it. For he ordered the *minæ*, which before went but for seventy-three *drachmas*, to go for a hundred: so that, as they paid the same in value, but much less in weight, those that had great sums to pay were relieved, while such as received them were no losers.

The greater part of writers, however, affirm, that it was the abolition of past securities that was called a *discharge*, and with these the poems of Solon agree. For in them he values himself on *having taken away the marks of mortgaged land* *, *which before were almost every where set up, and made free those fields which before were bound*: and not only so, but *of such citizens as were seizable by their creditors for debt, some*, he tells us, *he had brought back from other countries, where they had wandered so long, that they had forgot the Attic dialect, and others he had set at liberty, who had experienced a cruel slavery at home.*

This affair, indeed, brought upon him the greatest trouble he met with: For when he undertook the annulling of debts, and was considering of a suitable speech and a proper method of introducing the business, he told some of his most intimate friends, namely Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, that he intended only to abolish the debts,

* The Athenians had a custom of fixing up billets, to shew that houses or lands were mortgaged.

debts, and not to meddle with the lands. These friends of his hastening to make their advantage of the secret, before the decree took place, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estates with them. Afterwards, when the decree was published, they kept their possessions without paying the money they had taken up; which brought great reflections upon Solon, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were rather an accomplice in the fraud. This charge, however, was soon removed, by his being the first to comply with the law, and remitting a debt of five talents, which he had out at interest. Others, among whom is Polyzelus the Rhodian, say it was fifteen talents. But his friends went by the name of *Chreocopidæ* or *debt-cutters* ever after.

The method he took, satisfied neither the poor nor the rich. The latter were displeased by the cancelling of their bonds; and the former at not finding a division of lands: upon this they had fixed their hopes, and they complained that he had not, like Lycurgus, made all the citizens equal in estate. Lycurgus, however, being the eleventh from Hercules, and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon, had acquired great authority, interest, and friends, of which he knew very well how to avail himself in setting up a new form of government. Yet he was obliged to have recourse to force rather than persuasion, and had an eye struck out in the dispute, before he could bring it to a lasting settlement, and establish such an union and equality, as left neither rich nor poor in the city. On the other hand, Solon's estate was but moderate, not superior to that of some commoners, and therefore he attempted not to erect such a commonwealth as that of Lycurgus, considering it as out of his power: he proceeded as far as he thought he could be supported by the confidence the people had in his probity and wisdom.

That he answered not the expectations of the generality, but offended them by falling short, appears from these verses of his

Those eyes with joy once sparkling when they view'd me,
With cold, oblique regard behold me now.

And a little after——

——Yet

——Yet who but Solon
Could have ſpoke peace to their tumultuous waves,
And not have ſunk beneath them * ?

But being ſoon ſenſible of the utility of the decree, they laid aſide their complaints, offered a public ſacrifice, which they called *ſeiſacthia*, or the ſacrifice of the *diſcharge*, and conſtituted Solon lawgiver and ſuperintendant of the commonwealth; committing to him the regulation not of a part only, but the whole, magiſtracies, aſſemblies, courts of judicature, and ſenate; and leaving him to determine the qualification, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former conſtitutions, at his pleaſure.

Firſt then, he repealed the laws of Draco †, except thoſe concerning murder, becauſe of the ſeverity of the puniſhments they appointed, which for almoſt all offences were capital; even thoſe that were convicted of idleneſs were to ſuffer death, and ſuch as ſtole only a few apples or pot-herbs, were to be puniſhed in the ſame manner as ſacrilegious perſons and murderers. Hence a ſaying of Demades, who lived long after, was much admired, that *Draco wrote his laws not with ink, but with blood*. And he himſelf

*——πιαρ εξελη γαλα is a proverbial expreſſion, which will not bear a literal proſe tranſlation, much leſs a poetical one: it was neceſſary, therefore, to give a new turn to the ſentence, only keeping the ſenſe in view.

† Draco was archon in the ſecond, though ſome ſay in the laſt, year of the thirty-ninth olympiad, about the year before Chriſt 623. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in hiſtory, yet we no where find ſo much as ten lines together concerning him and his inſtitutions. He may be conſidered as the firſt legiſlator of the Athenians; for the laws, or rather precepts, of Triptolemus were very few, viz. *Honour your parents*; *worſhip the gods*; *hurt not animals*; Draco was the firſt of the Greeks that puniſhed adultery with death; and he eſteemed murder ſo high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence of it in the minds of men, he ordained that proceſs ſhould be carried on even againſt inanimate things, if they accidentally cauſed the death of any perſon. But beſides murder and adultery, which deſerved death, he made a number of ſmaller offences capital; and that brought almoſt all his laws into diſuſe. The extravagant ſeverity of them, like an edge too finely ground, hindered his *theſmoi*, as he called them, from ſtriking deep. Porphyry (*de abſtinent.*) has preſerved one of them concerning divine worſhip, "It is an everlaſting law in "Attica, that the gods are to be worſhipped, and the heroes alſo, "according to the cuſtoms of our anceſtors, and in private only with "a proper addreſs, firſt fruits, and annual libations."

himſelf being aſked, *Why he made death the puniſhment for moſt offences*, anſwered, *Small ones deſerve it, and I can find no greater for the moſt heinous.*

In the next place, Solon took an eſtimate of the eſtates of the citizens; intending to leave the great offices in the hands of the rich, but to give the reſt of the people a ſhare in other departments which they had not before. Such as had a yearly income of five hundred meaſures in wet and dry goods, he placed in the firſt rank, and called them *Pentacoſiomedimni* *: The ſecond conſiſted of thoſe that could keep a horſe, or whoſe lands produced three hundred meaſures; theſe were of the *equeſtrian* order, and called *Hippodatelountes*. And thoſe of the third claſs, who had but two hundred meaſures, were called *Zeugitæ*. The reſt were named *Thetes*, and not admitted to any office; they had only a right to appear and give their vote in the general aſſembly of the people. This ſeemed at firſt but a ſlight privilege, but afterwards ſhewed itſelf a matter of great importance: for moſt cauſes came at laſt to be decided by them; and in ſuch matters as were uuder the cognizance of the magiſtrates there lay an appeal to the people. Beſides, he is ſaid to have drawn up his laws in an obſcure and ambiguous manner, on purpoſe to enlarge the authority of the popular tribunal. For as they could not adjuſt their difference; by the letter of the law, they were obliged to have recourſe to living judges; I mean the whole body of citizens, who therefore had all controverſies brought before them, and were in a manner ſuperior to the laws. Of this equality he himſelf takes notice in theſe words,

By me the people held their native rights
Uninjur'd, unoppreſs'd—The great reſtrain'd
From lawleſs violence, and the poor from rapine,
By me, their mutual ſhield.——

 Deſirous

* The *Pentacoſiomedimni* paid a talent to the public treaſury; the *Hippodatelountes*, as the word ſignifies, were obliged to find a horſe, and to ſerve as cavalry in the wars; the *Zeugitæ* were ſo called, as being a middle rank between the knights and thoſe of the loweſt order (for rowers who have the middle bench between the Thalamites and the Thranites, are called *Zeugitæ*;) and though the *Thetes* had barely each a vote in the general aſſemblies, yet that (as Plutarch obſerves) appeared in time to be a great privilege, moſt cauſes being brought by appeal before the people.

Desirous yet farther to strengthen the common people, he impowered any man whatever to enter an action for one that was injured. If a person was assaulted, or suffered damage or violence, another that was able and willing to do it, might prosecute the offender. Thus the lawgiver wisely accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and to resent one another's injuries. And we are told of a saying of his agreeable to this law: being asked, *What city was best modelled?* he answered, *That, where those who are not injured are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are.*

When these points were adjusted, he established the council of the *areopagus* *, which was to consist of such as had borne the office of *archon* †, and himself was one of the number. But observing that the people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council or senate, of four hundred ‡, a hundred out of each tribe, by whom all affairs

* The court of *areopagus*, though settled long before, had lost much of its power by Draco's preferring the ephetæ. In ancient times, and till Solon became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity; but Solon made it a rule that such only should have a seat in it as had borne the office of *archon*. This had the effect he designed, it raised the reputation of the *areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees so venerable, that none contested or repined at them through a long course of ages.

† After the extinction of the race of the Medontidæ, the Athenians made the office of *archon* annual; and, instead of one, they created nine *archons*. By the latter expedient, they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former they took away all apprehension of the *archons* setting up for sovereigns. In one word, they attained now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates dependent on the people. This remarkable æra of the completion of the Athenian democracy was, according to the *Marmora*, in the first year of the xxivth olympiad, before Christ 684. That these magistrates might however retain sufficient authority and dignity, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The first was styled by way of eminence *The Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The second was called *Basileus*, that is, *king*; for they chose to have that title considered as a secondary one. This officer had the care of religion. The third had the name of *Polemarch*, for war was his particular province. The other six had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, and were considered as the guardians of their laws. These *archons* continued till the time of the emperor Callienus.

‡ The number of tribes were increased by Calisthenes to ten, after he had driven out the Pisistratidæ; and then this senate consisted of five

affairs were to be previously considered; and ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly. In the mean time the high court of the *areopagus* were to be the inspectors and guardians of the laws. Thus he supposed the commonwealth, secured by two councils, as by two anchors, would be less liable to be shaken by tumults, and the people would become more orderly and peaceable. Most writers, as we have observed, affirm that the council of the *areopagus* was of Solon's appointing: and it seems greatly to confirm their assertion, that Draco has made no mention of the *areopagites*, but in capital causes constantly addresses himself to the *ephetæ*: yet the eighth law of Solon's thirteenth table is set down in these very words, *Whoever were declared infamous, before Solon's archonship, let them be restored in honour, except such as having been condemned in the areopagus, or by the ephetæ, or by the kings in the Prytaneum, for murder or robbery, or attempting to usurp the government, had fled their country, before this law was made.* This on the contrary, shews, that before Solon was chief magistrate and delivered his laws, the council of the *areopagus* was in being. For who could have been condemned in the *areopagus* before Solon's time, if he was the first that erected it into a court of judicature? Unless, perhaps, there be some obscurity or deficiency in the text, and the meaning be, that such as have been convicted of crimes that are now cognizable before the *areopagites*, the *ephetæ* *, and *prytanes*, shall continue infamous, whilst others are restored. But this I submit to the judgment of the reader.

five hundred, fifty being chosen out of each tribe. Towards the close of the year the president of each tribe gave in a list of candidates, out of whom the senators were elected by lot. The senators then appointed the officers called *prytanes*. The *prytanes*, while the senate consisted of 500, were 50 in number; and, for the avoiding of confusion, ten of these presided a week, during which space they were called *proëdri*, and out of them an *epistates* or president was chosen, whose office lasted but one day.

* The *ephetæ* were first appointed in the reign of Demophon, the son of Theseus, for the trying of wilful murders and cases of manslaughter. They consisted at first of fifty Athenians and as many Argives; but Draco excluded the Argives, and ordered that it should be composed of fifty-one Athenians, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age. He also fixed their authority above that of the areopagites; but Solon brought them under that court, and limited their jurisdiction.

The most peculiar and surprising of his other laws, is that which declares the man infamous who stands neuter in time of sedition *. It seems, he would not have us be indifferent and unaffected with the fate of the public, when our own concerns are upon a safe bottom; nor when we are in health, be insensible to the distempers and griefs of our country. He would have us espouse the better and juster cause, and hazard every thing in defence of it, rather than wait in safety to see which side the victory will incline to. That law, too seems quite ridiculous and absurd, which permits a rich heiress, whose husband happens to be impotent, to console herself with his nearest relations. Yet some say, this law was very properly levelled against those, who, conscious of their own inability, match with heiresses for the sake of the portion, and under colour of law do violence to nature. For when they know that such heiresses may make choice of others to grant their favours to, they will either let those matches alone, or if they do marry in that manner, they must suffer the shame of their avarice and dishonesty. It is right, that the heiress should not have liberty to choose at large but only amongst her husband's relations, that the child which is born may, at least, belong to his kindred and family. Agreeable to this is the direction, that the bride and bridegroom should be shut up together and eat of the same quince †; and that the husband of an heiress should approach her at least three times in a month. For, though they may happen not to have children, yet it is a mark of honour and regard due from a man to the chastity of his wife: it removes many uneasinesses, and prevents differences from proceeding to an absolute breach.

In

* Aulus Gellius, who has preserved the very words of this law, adds, that one who so stood neuter, should lose his houses, his country, and estate, and be sent out an exile. *Noct. Attic.* l. ii. c. 12.

Plutarch in another place condemns this law; but Gellius highly commends it, and assigns this reason—The wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some side, matters were easily accommodated; whereas if the latter only, as is generally the case with other cities, had the management of factions, they would, for private reasons, be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin of the state.

† The eating of the quince, which was not peculiar to an heiress and her husband, (for all new married people eat it) implied that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet.

In all other marriages, he ordered that no dowries ſhould be given: the bride was to bring with her only three ſuits of clothes, and ſome houſehold ſtuff of ſmall value*. For he did not chooſe that marriages ſhould be made with mercenary or venal views, but would have that union cemented by the endearment of children, and every other inſtance of love and friendſhip. Nay, Dionyſius himſelf, when his mother deſired to be married to a young Syracuſan, told her, *He had, indeed, by his tyranny, broke through the laws of his country, but he could not break thoſe of nature, by countenancing ſo diſproportioned a match.* And ſurely ſuch diſorders ſhould not be tolerated in any ſtate, nor ſuch matches where there is no equality of years, or inducements of love, or probability that the end of marriage will be anſwered. So that to an old man who marries a young woman, ſome prudent magiſtrate or lawgiver might expreſs himſelf in the words addreſſed to Philoctetes,

Poor ſoul! how fit art thou to marry!

And if he found a young man in the houſe of a rich old woman, like a partridge, growing fat in his private ſervices, he would remove him to ſome young virgin who wanted a huſband. But enough of this.

That law of Solon's is alſo juſtly commended, which forbids men to ſpeak ill of the dead. For piety requires us to conſider the deceaſed as ſacred; juſtice calls upon us to ſpare thoſe that are not in being: and good policy, to prevent the perpetuating of hatred. He forbad his people alſo to revile the living, in a temple, in a court of juſtice, in the great aſſembly of the people, or at the public games. He that offended in this reſpect, was to pay three *drachmas* to the perſon injured, and two to the public. Never to reſtrain anger is, indeed, a proof of weakneſs or want of breeding; and always to guard againſt it, is very difficult, and to ſome perſons impoſſible. Now, what is enjoined by law ſhould be practicable, if the legiſlator deſires to puniſh a few to ſome good purpoſe, and not many to no purpoſe.

His law concerning wills has likewiſe its merit. For before his time the Athenians were not allowed to diſpoſe of

* The bride brought with her an earthen pan called *phrogeteon*, wherein barley was parched; to ſignify that ſhe undertook the buſineſs of the houſe, and would do her part towards providing for the family.

of their estates by will; the houses and other substance of the decased were to remain among his relations. But he permitted any one that had not children, to leave his possessions to whom he pleased; thus preferring the tie of friendship to that of kindred, and choice to necessity, he gave every man the full and free disposal of his own. Yet he allowed not all sorts of legacies, but those only that were not extorted by phrenzy, the consequence of disease or poisons, by imprisonment or violence, or the persuasions of a wife. For he considered inducements that operated against reason, as no better than force: to be deceived was with *him* the same thing as to be compelled; and he looked upon pleasure to be as great a perveter as pain*.

He regulated, moreover, the journeys of women, their mournings and sacrifices, and endeavoured to keep them clear of all disorder and excess. They were not to go out of town with more than three habits; the provisions they carried with them, were not to exceed the value of an *obolus*; their basket was not to be above a cubit high; and in the night they were not to travel but in a carriage, with a torch before them. At funerals they were forbid to tear themselves†, and no hired mourner was to utter lamentable notes, or to act any thing else that tended to excite sorrow. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox on those occasions; or to bury more than three garments with the body; or to visit any tombs beside those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these things are likewise forbidden by our laws, with the addition of this circumstance, that those who offend in such a manner are fined by the censors of the women, as giving way to weak passions and childish sorrow.

As the city was filled with persons who assembled from all parts, on account of the great security in which people

* He likewise ordained that adopted persons should make no will, but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted; or if they continued in it to their death, the estates reverted to the relations of the persons who adopted them. DEMOSTH. *in Orat. Leptin.*

† Demosthenes (*in Timocr.*) recites Solon's directions as to funerals as follows: "Let the dead bodies be laid out in the house, according "as the deceased gave order, and the day following before sun-rise "carried forth. Whilst the body is carrying to the grave let the men "go before, the women follow. It shall not be lawful for any woman "to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the "grave under threescore years of age, except such as are within the "degrees of cousins."

people lived in Attica, Solon obferving this, and that the country withal was poor and barren, and that merchants who traffic by fea, do not ufe to import their goods where they can have nothing in exchange, turned the attention of the citizens to manufactures. For this purpofe he made a law, that no fon fhould be obliged to maintain his father, if he had not taught him a trade*. As for Lycurgus, whofe city was clear of ftrangers, and whofe country, according to Euripides, was fufficient for twice the number of inhabitants; where there was, moreover, a multitude of *Helotes*, who were not only to be kept conftantly employed, but to be humbled and worn out by fervitude; it was right for him to fet the citizens free from laborious and mechanic arts, and to employ them in arms, as the only art fit for them to learn and exercife. But Solon, rather adapting his laws to the ftate of his country, than his country to his laws, and perceiving that the foil of Attica, which hardly rewarded the hufbandman's labour, was far from being capable of maintaining a lazy multitude, ordered that trades fhould be accounted honourable; that the council of the *areopagus* fhould examine into every man's means of fubfifting, and chaftife the idle.

But that law was more rigid, which (as Heraclides of Pontus informs us) excufed baftards from relieving their fathers. Neverthelefs, the man that difregards fo honourable a ftate as marriage, does not take a woman for the fake of children, but merely to indulge his appetite. He has, therefore, his reward; and there remains no pretence for him to upbraid thofe children, whofe very birth he has made a reproach to them.

In truth, his laws concerning women, in general appear very abfurd. For he permitted any one to kill an adulterer taken in the fact†; but if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he was only to be fined a hundred drachmas; if he gained his purpofe by perfuafion, twenty:

* He that was thrice convicted of idlenefs, was to be declared *infamous*. Herodotus (l. vii.) and Diodorus Siculus (l. i.) agree that a law of this kind was in ufe in Egypt. It is probable therefore that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them.

† No adulterefs was to adorn herfelf, or to affift at the public facrifices; and in cafe fhe did, he gave liberty to any one to tear her clothes off her back, and beat her into the bargain.

twenty: but prostitues were excepted, because they have their price. And he would not allow them to sell a daughter or sister, unless she were taken in an act of dishonour before marriage. But to punish the same fault sometimes in a severe and rigorous manner, and sometimes lightly and as it were in sport, with a trivial fine, is not agreeable to reason: unless the scarcity of money in Athens, at that time, made a pecuniary mulct a heavy one. And indeed in the valuation of things for the sacrifice, a sheep and a *medimnus* of corn were reckoned each at a *drachma* only. To the victor in the Isthmean games, he appointed a reward of a hundred *drachmas*; and to the victor in the Olympian, five hundred*. He that caught a he-wolf, was to have five *drachmas*; he that took a she-wolf, one: and the former sum (as Demetrius Phalereus asserts) was the value of an ox, the latter of a sheep. Though the prices which he fixes in his sixteenth table for select victims, were probably much higher than the common, yet they are small in comparison of the present. The Athenians of old were great enemies to wolves, because their country was better for pasture than tillage: and some say their tribes had not their names from the sons of Ion, but from the different occupations they followed; the soldiers being called *hoplitæ*, the artificers *ergades*; and of the other two, the husbandmen *teleontes*; and the graziers *ægicores*.

As Attica was not supplied with water from perennial rivers, lakes, or springs †, but chiefly by wells dug for that purpose, he made a law, that where there was a public well, all within the distance of four furlongs, should make use of it: but where the distance was greater, they were to provide a well of their own. And if they dug ten fathoms deep in their own ground, and could find no watar, they had liberty to fill a vessel of six gallons twice a day at their neighbours. Thus he thought it proper to assist persons in real necessity, but not to encourage idleness. His regulations with respect to the planting

* At the same time he contracted the rewards bestowed upon wrestlers, esteeming such gratuities useless and even dangerous; as they tended to encourage idleness by putting men upon wasting that time in exercises which ought to be spent in providing for their families.

† Strabo tells us there was a spring of fresh water near the Lycæum; but the soil of Attica in general was dry, and the rivers Ilissus and Eridanus did not run constantly.

planting of trees, were alſo very judicious. He that planted any tree in his field, was to place it at leaſt five feet from his neighbour's ground; and if it was a fig-tree or an olive, nine; for theſe extend their roots farther than others, and their neighbourhood is prejudicial to ſome trees, not only as they take away the nouriſhment, but as their effluvia is noxious. He that would dig a pit or a ditch, was to dig it as far from another man's ground, as it was deep: and if any one would raiſe ſtocks of bees, he was to place them three hundred feet from thoſe already raiſed by another.

Of all the products of the earth, he allowed none to be ſold to ſtrangers, but oil: and whoever preſumed to export any thing elſe, the *archon* was ſolemnly to declare him accurſed, or to pay himſelf a hundred *drachmas* into the public treaſury. This law is in the firſt table. And therefore it is not abſolutely improbable, what ſome affirm, that the exportation of figs was formerly forbidden, and that the informer againſt the delinquents was called a *ſycophant*.

He likewiſe enacted a law for reparation of damage received from beaſts. A dog that had bit a man was to be delivered up bound to a log of four cubits long*; an agreeable contrivance for ſecurity againſt ſuch an animal.

But the wiſdom of the law concerning the naturalizing of foreigners, is a little dubious; becauſe it forbids the freedom of the city to be granted to any but ſuch as are for ever exiled from their own country, or tranſplant themſelves to Athens with their whole family, for the ſake of exerciſing ſome manual trade. This, we are told, he did, not with a view to keep ſtrangers at a diſtance, but rather to invite them to Athens, upon the ſure hope of being admitted to the privilege of citizens: and he imagined the ſettlement of thoſe might be entirely depended upon, who had been driven from their native country, or had quitted it by choice.

That law is peculiar to Solon, which regulates the going to entertainments made at the public charge, by him called

* This law, and ſeveral others of Solon's were taken into the twelve tables. In the conſulate of T. Romilius and C. Veturius, in the year of Rome 293, the Romans ſent deputies to Athens, to tranſcribe his laws, and thoſe of the other lawgivers of Greece, in order to form thereby a body of laws for Rome.

called *parasitien* *. For he does not allow the same person to repair to them often, and he lays a penalty upon such as refuse to go when invited; looking upon the former as a mark of epicurism, and the latter of contempt of the public.

All his laws were to continue in force for a hundred years, and were written upon wooden tables, which might be turned round in the oblong cases that contained them. Some small remains of them are preserved in the *Prytaneum* to this day. They were called *cyrbes*, as Aristotle tells us; and Cratinus, the comic poet, thus speaks of them:

> By the great names of Solon and of Draco,
> Whose cyrbes now but serve to boil our pulse.

Some say, those tables were properly called *cyrbes*, on which were written the rules for religious rites and sacrifices and the other *axones*. The senate, in a body, bound themselves by oath to establish the laws of Solon; and the *thesmothetæ*, or *guardians of the laws*, severally took an oath in a particular form, by the stone in the market-place, that for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself †.

Observing the irregularity of the months ‡, and that the moon neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun,

* In the first ages the name of *parasite* was venerable and sacred, for it properly signified one that was a messmate at the table of sacrifices. There were in Greece several persons particularly honoured with this title, much like those whom the Romans called *epulones*, a religious order instituted by Numa. Solon ordained that every tribe should offer a sacrifice once a month, and at the end of the sacrifice make a public entertainment, at which all who were of that tribe should be obliged to assist by turns.

† Gold in Solon's time was so scarce in Greece, that when the Spartans were ordered by the oracle to gild the face of Apollo's statute, they inquired in vain for gold all over Greece, and were directed by the pythoness to buy some of Crœsus king of Lydia.

‡ Solon discovered the falseness of Thales's maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, and found that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. He directed, therefore, that each of the twelve months should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately. By this means a lunar year was formed, of 354 days; and to reconcile it to the solar year, he ordered a month of twenty-two days to be intercalated every two years, and at the end of the second two years, he directed that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated,

ſun, as it often happened that in the ſame day ſhe overtook and paſſed by him, he ordered that day to be called *hene kai nea* (the old and the new); aſſigning the part of it before the conjunction, to the old month, and the reſt to the beginning of the new. He ſeems, therefore, to have been the firſt who underſtood that verſe in Homer, which makes mention of a day wherein *the old month ended, and the new began* *.

The day following he called the *new moon*. After the twentieth he counted not by adding, but ſubtracting, to the thirtieth, according to the decreaſing phaſes of the moon.

When his laws took place †, Solon had his viſitors every day, finding fault with ſome of them, and commending others, or adviſing him to make certain additions,

tercalated. He likewiſe engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, ſtyled the *beginning*, *middling*, and *ending*; each of theſe conſiſted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the laſt of nine, when it was nine-and-twenty days long. In ſpeaking of the two firſt parts, they reckoned according to the uſual order of numbers, viz. the firſt, &c. day of the moon beginning; the firſt, ſecond, &c. of the moon middling; but with reſpect to the laſt part of the month, they reckoned backwards, that is, inſtead of ſaying the firſt, ſecond, &c. day of the moon ending, they ſaid the tenth, ninth, &c. of the moon ending. This is a circumſtance which ſhould be carefully attended to.

* Odyſſ. xiv. 162.

† Plutarch has only mentioned ſuch of Solon's laws as he thought the moſt ſingular and remarkable; Diogenes, Laërtius, and Demoſthenes have given us account of ſome others that ought not to be forgotten.—"Let not the guardian live in the ſame houſe with the mo-"ther of his wards. Let not the tuition of minors be committed to "him who is next after them in the inheritance. Let not an engraver "keep the impreſſion of a ſeal which he has engraved. Let him that "puts out the eye of a man who has but one, loſe both his own. If "an archon is taken in liquor, let him be put to death. Let him who "refuſes to maintain his father and mother, be infamous: and ſo let "him that has conſumed his patrimony. Let him who refuſes to go "to war, flies, or behaves cowardly, be debarred the precincts of the "*forum* and places of public worſhip. If a man ſurpriſes his wife in "adultery, and lives with her afterwards, let him be deemed infamous. "Let him who frequents the houſes of lewd women, be debarred from "ſpeaking in the aſſemblies of the people. Let a pandar be purſued, "and put to death if taken. If any man ſteal in the day-time, let him "be carried to the eleven officers; if in the night, it ſhall be lawful "to kill him in the act, or to wound him in the purſuit, and carry "him to the aforeſaid officers: if he ſteals common things, let him "pay double, and if the convictor thinks fit, be expoſed in chains "five days; if he is guilty of ſacrilege, let him be put to death."

tion, or retrenchments. But the greater part came to desire a reason for this or that article, or a clear and precise explication of the meaning and design. Sensible that he could not well excuse himself from complying with their desires, and that, if he indulged their importunity, the doing it might give offence, he determined to withdraw from the difficulty, and to get rid at once of their cavils and exceptions. For, as he himself observes,

> Not all the greatest enterprize can please.

Under pretence, therefore, of traffic, he set sail for another country, having obtained leave of the Athenians for ten years absence. In that time he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

His first voyage was to Egypt, where he abode some time, as he himself relates,

> On the Canopian shore, by Nile's deep mouth.

There he conversed upon points of philosophy, with Psenophis the Heliopolitan, and Senchis the Saite, the most learned of the Egyptian priests; and having an account from them of the *Atlantic* Island * (as Plato informs us) he attempted to describe it to the Grecians in a poem. From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, and there was honoured with the best regards of Philocyprus, one of the kings of that island, who reigned over a small city built by Demophon the son of Theseus, near the river Clarius, in a strong situation indeed, but very indifferent soil. As there was an agreeable plain below, Solon persuaded him to build a larger and pleasanter city there, and to remove the

* Plato finished this history from Solon's memoirs; as may be seen in his Timæus, and Critias. He pretends that this Atlantis, an island situated in the Atlantic ocean, was bigger than Asia and Africa, and that, notwithstanding its vast extent, it was drowned in one day and night. Diodorus Siculus says, the Carthaginians, who discovered it, made it death for any one to settle in it. Amidst a number of conjectures concerning it, one of the most probable is, that in those days the Africans had some knowledge of America. Another opinion worth mentioning, is, that the *Atlantides* or *Fortunate* Islands were what we now call the Canaries. Homer thus describes them,

> Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:
> The fields are florid with unfading prime.
> From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
> Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;
> But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
> The fragrant murmurs of the western gale. POPE.

the inhabitants of the other to it. He alſo aſſiſted in laying out the whole, and building it in the beſt manner for convenience and defence: ſo that Philocyprus in a ſhort time had it ſo well peopled, as to excite the envy of the other princes. And therefore, though the former city was called *Aipeia*, yet in honour of Solon, he called the new one *Soli*. He himſelf ſpeaks of the building of this city, in his elegies, addreſſing himſelf to Philocyprus:

For you be long the Solian throne decreed!
For you, a race of proſperous ſons ſucceed!
If in thoſe ſcenes, to her ſo juſtly dear,
My hand a blooming city help'd to rear,
May the ſweet voice of ſmiling Venus bleſs,
And ſpeed me home with honours and ſucceſs!

As for his interview with Crœſus, ſome pretend to prove from chronology, that it is fictitious. But ſince the ſtory is ſo famous, and ſo well atteſted, nay, (what is more) ſo agreeable to Solon's character, ſo worthy of his wiſdom and magnanimity, I cannot prevail with myſelf to reject it for the ſake of certain chronological tables, which thouſands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring them to any certainty. Solon, then, is ſaid to have gone to Sardis at the requeſt of Crœſus; and when he came there, he was affected much in the ſame manner as a perſon born in an inland country, when he firſt goes to ſee the ocean: for as he takes every great river he comes to for the ſea; ſo Solon, as he paſſed through the court, and ſaw many of the nobility richly dreſſed, and walking in great pomp amidſt a crowd of attendants and guards, took each of them for Crœſus. At laſt when he was conducted into the preſence, he found the king ſet off with whatever can be imagined curious and valuable, either in beauty of colours, elegance of golden ornaments, or ſplendor of jewels; in order that the grandeur and variety of the ſcene might be as ſtriking as poſſible. Solon, ſtanding over againſt the throne, was not at all ſurpriſed, nor did he pay thoſe compliments that were expected; on the contrary, it was plain to all perſons of diſcernment that he deſpiſed ſuch vain oſtentation and littleneſs of pride. Crœſus then ordered his treaſures to be opened, and his magnificent apartments and furniture to be ſhewn him; but this was quite a needleſs trouble; for Solon in one view of the king was able to read his character. When he had ſeen all, and was conducted back, Crœſus

 aſked

asked him, *If he had ever beheld a happier man than he?* Solon answered, *He had, and that the person was one Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him; and who having been above the want of necessaries all his life, died gloriously fighting for his country.* By this time he appeared to Crœsus to be a strange, uncouth kind of rustic, who did not measure happiness by the quantity of gold and silver, but could prefer the life and death of a private and mean person to *his* high dignity and power. However, he asked him again, *Whether, after Tellus, he knew another happier man in the world?* Solon answered, *Yes, Cleobis and Biton, famed for their brotherly affection, and dutiful behaviour to their mother; for the oxen not being ready, they put themselves in the harness, and drew their mother to Juno's temple, who was extremely happy in having such sons, and moved forward amidst the blessings of the people. After the sacrifice they drank a cheerful cup with their friends, and then laid down to rest, but rose no more; for they died in the night without sorrow or pain, in the midst of so much glory. Well!* said Crœsus, now highly displeased, *and do you not then rank us in the number of happy men?* Solon, unwilling either to flatter him, or to exasperate him more, replied, *King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise he has favoured them with a democratic spirit and a liberal kind of wisdom, which has no taste for the splendors of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life, suffer us not to be elated, by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity, which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man many various and uncertain events in its bosom. He, therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the last, is in our estimation the happy man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion, before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain.* With these words Solon departed, leaving Crœsus chagrined, but not instructed.

At that time Æsop, the fabulist, was at the court of Crœsus, who had sent for him, and carressed him not a little. He was concerned at the unkind reception Solon met with, and thereupon gave him this advice, *A man should either not converse with kings at all, or say what is agreeable to them:* To which Solon replied, *Nay, but he should either not do it at all, or say what is useful to them.*

Though

Though Crœſus at that time held our lawgiver in contempt; yet when he was defeated in his wars with Cyrus; when his city was taken, himſelf made priſoner, and laid bound upon the pile in order to be burnt, in the preſence of Cyrus and all the Perſians, he cried out as loud as he poſſibly could, "Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus, ſurpriſed at this, ſent to inquire of him, "What god or man it "was, whom alone he thus invoked under ſo great a "calamity?" Crœſus anſwered without the leaſt diſguiſe, "He is one of the wiſe men of Greece, whom I "ſent for, not with a deſign to hear his wiſdom, or to "learn what might be of ſervice to me, but that he "might ſee and extend the reputation of that glory, the "loſs of which I find a much greater misfortune, than "the poſſeſſion of it was a bleſſing. My exalted ſtate "was only an exterior advantage, the happineſs of opi-"nion; but the reverſe plunges me into real ſufferings, "and ends in miſery irremediable. This was foreſeen "by that great man, who forming a conjecture of the "future from what he then ſaw, adviſed me to conſider "the end of life, and not to rely or grow inſolent upon "uncertainties." When this was told Cyrus, who was a much wiſer man than Crœſus, finding Solon's maxim confirmed by an example before him, he not only ſet Crœſus at liberty, but honoured him with his protection as long as he lived. Thus Solon had the glory of ſaving the life of one of theſe kings, and of inſtructing the other.

During his abſence, the Athenians were much divided among themſelves, Lycurgus being at the head of the low country *, Megacles, the ſon of Alcmæon, of the people that lived near the ſea-coaſt, and Piſiſtratus of the mountaineers; among which laſt was a multitude of labouring people, whoſe enmity was chiefly levelled at the rich. Hence it was, that though the city did obſerve Solon's laws, yet all expected ſome change, and were deſirous of another eſtabliſhment; not in hopes of an equality, but with a view to be gainers by the alteration, and entirely to ſubdue thoſe that differed from them.

While matters ſtood thus, Solon arrived at Athens, where he was received with great reſpect, and ſtill held in veneration by all; but by reaſon of his great age he had

* Theſe three parties into which the Athenians were divided, viz. the Pediæi, the Parali, and Diacrii, have been mentioned in this life before.

had neither the ſtrength nor ſpirit to act or ſpeak in public as he had done. He therefore applied in private to the heads of the factions, and endeavoured to appeaſe and reconcile them. Piſiſtratus ſeemed to give him greater attention than the reſt; for Piſiſtratus had an affable and engaging mannner. He was a liberal benefactor to the poor *; and even to his enemies he behaved with great candour. He counterfeited ſo dexterouſly the good qualities which nature had denied him, that he gained more credit than the real poſſeſſors of them, and ſtood foremoſt in the public eſteem in point of moderation and equity, in zeal for the preſent government, and averſion to all that endeavoured at a change. With theſe arts he impoſed upon the people; but Solon ſoon diſcovered his real character, and was the firſt to diſcern his inſidious deſigns. Yet he did not abſolutely break with him, but endeavoured to ſoften him and adviſe him better; declaring both to him and others, that if ambition could but be baniſhed from his ſoul, and he could be cured of his deſire of abſolute power, there would not be a man better diſpoſed, or a more worthy citizen in Athens.

About this time, Theſpis began to change the form of tragedy, and the novelty of the thing attracted many ſpectators; for this was before any prize was propoſed for thoſe that excelled in this reſpect. Solon, who was always willing to hear and to learn, and in his old age more inclined to any thing that might divert and entertain, particularly to muſic and good fellowſhip, went to ſee Theſpis himſelf exhibit, as the cuſtom of the ancient poets was. When the play was done, he called to Theſpis, and aſked him, *If he was not aſhamed to tell ſo many lies before ſo great an aſſembly?* Theſpis anſwered, *It was no great matter, if he ſpoke or acted ſo in jeſt.* To which Solon replied, ſtriking the ground violently with his ſtaff, *If we encourage ſuch jeſting as this, we ſhall quickly find it in our contracts and agreements.*

Soon after this, Piſiſtratus having wounded himſelf for the purpoſe, drove in that condition into the market-place,

* By the poor we are not to underſtand ſuch as aſked alms, for there were none ſuch at Athens. "In thoſe days," ſays Iſocrates, "there was no citizen that died of want, or begged in the ſtreets, "to the diſhonour of the community." This was owing to the laws againſt idleneſs and prodigality, and the care which the *areopagus* took that every man ſhould have a viſible livelihood.

place, and endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people, by telling them, his enemies had laid in wait for him, and treated him in that manner on account of his patriotifm. Upon this, the multitude loudly expreffed their indignation: but Solon came up, and thus accofted him, *Son of Hippocrates, you act Homer's Ulyffes but very indifferently: for he wounded himfelf to deceive his enemies, but you have done it to impofe upon your countrymen.* Notwithftanding this, the rabble were ready to take up arms for him: and a general affembly of the people being fummoned, Arifton made a motion, that a body-guard of fifty clubmen fhould be affigned him. Solon ftood up and oppofed it with many arguments, of the fame kind with thofe he has left us in his poems:

> You hang with rapture on his honey'd tongue.

And again,

> Your art, to public intereft ever blind,
> Your fox-like art ftill centres in yourfelf.

But when he faw the poor behave in a riotous manner, and determined to gratify Pififtratus at any rate, while the rich out of fear declined the oppofition, he retired with this declaration; that he had fhewn more wifdom than the former, in difcerning what method fhould have been taken; and more courage than the latter, who did not want underftanding, but fpirit to oppofe the eftablifhment of a tyrant. The people having made the decree, did not curioufly inquire into the number of guards which Pififtratus employed, but vifibly connived at his keeping as many as he pleafed, till he feized the citadel. When this was done, and the city in great confufion, Megacles, with the reft of the Alcmæonidæ, immediately took to flight. But Solon, though he was now very old, and had none to fecond him, appeared in public, and addreffed himfelf to the citizens, fometimes upbraiding them with their paft indifcretion and cowardice, fometimes exhorting and encouraging them to ftand up for their liberty. Then it was that he fpoke thofe memorable words, *It would have been eafier for them to reprefs the advances of tyranny, and prevent its eftablifhment; but now it was eftablifhed and grown to fome height, it would be more glorious to demolifh it.* However, finding that their fears prevented their attention to what he faid, he returned

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL

turned to his own house, and placed his weapons at the street door, with these words, *I have done all in my power to defend my country and its laws.* This was his last public effort. Though some exhorted him to fly, he took no notice of their advice, but was composed enough to make verses, in which he thus reproaches the Athenians,

If fear or folly has your rights betray'd,
Let not the fault on righteous heav'n be laid.
You gave them guards; you rais'd your tyrants high,
T' impose the heavy yoke that draws the heaving sigh.

Many of his friends, alarmed at this, told him the tyrant would certainly put him to death for it, and asked him, what he trusted to, that he went such imprudent lengths: he answered, *To old age.* However, when Pisistratus had fully established himself, he made his court to Solon, and treated him with so much kindness and respect, that Solon became, as it were, his counsellor, and gave sanction to many of his proceedings. He observed the greatest part of Solon's laws, shewing himself the example, and obliging his friends to follow it. Thus when he was accused of murder before the court of *areopagus*, he appeared in a modest manner to make his defence; but his accuser dropped the impeachment. He likewise added other laws, one of which was, that *persons maimed in the wars should be maintained at the public charge.* Yet this, Heraclides tells us, was in pursuance of Solon's plan, who had decreed the same in the case of Thersippus. But according to Theophrastus, Pisistratus, not Solon, made the law against idleness, which produced at once greater industry in the country and tranquillity in the city.

Solon, moreover, attempted in verse a large description or rather fabulous account of the Atlantic Island*, which he had learned of the wise men of Sais, and which particularly concerned the Athenians; but by reason of his age, not want of leisure (as Plato would have it) he was apprehensive the work would be too much for him, and

* This fable imported, that the people of Atlantis having subdued all Libya, and a great part of Europe, threatened Egypt and Greece; but the Athenians making head against their victorious army, overthrew them in several engagements, and confined them to their own island

and therefore did not go through with it. These verses are a proof that business was not the hindrance:

I grow in learning as I grow in years.

And again

Wine, wit, and beauty still their charms bestow,
Light all the shades of life, and cheer us as we go.

Plato, ambitious to cultivate and adorn the subject of the Atlantic Island, as a delightful spot in some fair field unoccupied, to which also he had some claim by his being related to Solon*, laid out magnificent courts and enclosures, and erected a grand entrance to it, such as no other story, fable, or poem ever had. But as he began it late, he ended his life before the work; so that the more the reader is delighted with the part that is written, the more regret he has to find it unfinished. As the temple of Jupiter Olympius in Athens is the only one that has not the last hand put to it, so the wisdom of Plato, amongst his many excellent works has left nothing inperfect but the Atlantic Island.

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Solon lived a considerable time after Pisistratus usurped the government; but according to Phanias the Ephesian, not quite two years. For Pisistratus began his tyranny in the archonship of Comias, and Phanias tells us, Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus, the immediate successor to Comias, The story of his ashes † being scattered about the isle of Salamis, appears absurd and fabulous: and yet it is related by several authors of credit, and by Aristotle in particular.

PUBLICOLA.

SUCH is the character of Solon; and therefore with him we will compare Publicola, so called by the Roman people, in acknowledgment of his merit; for his paternal name was Valerius. He was descended from that

* Plato's mother was a descendent of the brother of Solon.

† It is said by Diogenes Laërtius, that this was done by his own order. In thus disposing of his remains, either Solon himself, or those who wrote his history, imitated the story of Lycurgus, who left an express order that his ashes should be thrown into the sea,

that ancient Valerius*, who was the principal author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines. For he it was that moſt effectually perſuaded the two kings to come to a conference, and to ſettle their differences. From this man our Valerius deriving his extraction, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his eloquence and riches†, even while Rome was yet under kingly government. His eloquence he employed with great propriety and ſpirit in defence of juſtice, and his riches in relieving the neceſſitous. Hence it was natural to conclude, that if the government ſhould become republican‡, his ſtation in it would ſoon be one of the moſt eminent.

When Tarquin *the proud*, who had made his way to the throne, by the violation of all rights||, divine and human, and then exerciſed his power as he acquired it, when, like an oppreſſor and a tyrant, he became odious and inſupportable to the people; they took occaſion to revolt, from the unhappy fate of Lucretia, who killed herſelf on account of the rape committed upon her by the ſon of Tarquin§. Lucius Brutus, meditating a change of government, applied to Valerius firſt, and with his powerful aſſiſtance expelled the king and his family. Indeed, while the people ſeemed inclined to give one perſon the chief command, and to ſet up a general inſtead of a king,

* The firſt of his family, who ſettled at Rome, was Valerius Voleſus, a Sabine; or, as Feſtus and the *faſti Capitolini* call him, Veluſus.

† Plutarch by this would inſinuate, that arbitrary power is no friend to eloquence. And undoubtedly the want of liberty does depreſs the ſpirit, and reſtrain the force of genius: whereas, in republics and limited monarchies, full ſcope is given, as well as many occaſions afforded, to the richeſt vein of oratory.

‡ Governments, as well as other things, puſhed to exceſſive lengths, often change to the contrary extreme.

|| He made uſe of the body of his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, whom he had murdered, as a ſtep to the throne.

§ Livy tells us, that ſhe deſired her father and huſband to meet her at her own houſe. With her father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, afterwards Publicola, and with her huſband Lucius Junius Brutus, and many other Romans of diſtinction. To them ſhe diſcloſed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm reſolution not to outlive the loſs of her honour, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpuniſhed. Then the heroine, notwithſtanding their endeavours, to diſſuade her from it, plunged a dagger in her breaſt. While the reſt were filled with grief and conſternation, Brutus, who, till that time, had feigned himſelf an idiot, to prevent his being obnoxious to the tyrant, took the bloody poniard, and ſhewing it to the aſſembly, ſaid,

king, Valerius acquiesced, and willingly yielded the first place to Brutus, under whose auspices the republic commenced. But when it appeared that they could not bear the thought of being governed by a single person, when they seemed more ready to obey a divided authority, and indeed proposed and demanded to have two consuls at the head of the state, then he offered himself as a candidate for that high office, together with Brutus, but lost his election. For, contrary to Brutus's desire, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was appointed his colleague. Not that he was a more worthy or able man than Valerius; but those that had the chief interest in the state, apprehensive of the return of the Tarquins, who made great efforts without, and endeavoured to soften the resentment of the citizens within, were desirous to be commanded by the most implacable enemy of that house.

Valerius, taking it ill that it should be supposed he would not do his utmost for his country, because he had received no particular injury from the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, forbore to attend the *forum*, and would not intermeddle in the least with public affairs. So that many began to express their fear and concern, lest through resentment he should join the late royal family, and overturn the commonwealth, which, as yet, was but tottering. Brutus was not without his suspicions of some others, and therefore determined to bring the senators to their oath on a solemn day of sacrifice, which he appointed for that purpose. On this occasion Valerius went with great alacrity into the *forum*, and was the first to make oath that he would never give up the least point, or hearken to any terms of agreement with Tarquin, but would defend the Roman liberty with his sword; which afforded great satisfaction to the senate, and strengthened the hands of the consuls*. His actions soon confirmed the sincerity

said, "I swear by this blood, which once was so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villainy of Tarquin could have polluted, that "I will pursue L. Tarquinius the proud, his wicked wife, and their "children, with fire and sword; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods! I call you "to witness this my oath." At these words he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company; and engaged them to take the same oath.

* Thus ended the regal state of Rome, 242 years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city. But Sir Isaac Newton

ſincerity of his oath. For ambaſſadors came from Tarquin with letters calculated to gain the people, and inſtructions to treat with them in ſuch a manner as might be moſt likely to corrupt them! as they were to tell them from the king, that he had bid adieu to his high notions, and was willing to liſten to very moderate conditions. Though the conſuls were of opinion, that they ſhould be admitted to confer with the people, Valerius would not ſuffer it, but oppoſed it ſtrongly, inſiſting that no pretext for innovation ſhould be given the needy multitude, who might conſider war as a greater grievance than tyranny itſelf.

After this, ambaſſadors came, to declare that he would give up all thoughts of the kingdom, and lay down his arms, if they would but ſend him his treaſures and other effects, that his family and friends might not want a ſubſiſtence in their exile. Many perſons inclined to indulge him in this, and Collatinus in particular agreed to it; but Brutus*, a man of great ſpirit and quick reſentment, ran into the *forum*, and called his colleague traitor, for being diſpoſed to grant the enemy the means to carry on the war, and recover the crown, when indeed it would be too much to grant them bread in the place where they might retire to. The citizens being aſſembled on that occaſion, Caius Minutius, a private man, was the firſt who delivered his ſentiments to them, adviſing Brutus, and exhorting the Romans, to take care that the treaſures ſhould fight for them againſt the tyrants, rather than for the tyrants againſt *them*. The Romans, however, were of opinion, that while they obtained that liberty for which they began the war, they ſhould not reject the offered peace for the ſake of the treaſures, but caſt them out together with the tyrants.

In

Newton juſtly obſerves, that this can ſcarce be reconciled to the courſe of nature, for we meet with no inſtance in all hiſtory, ſince chronology was certain, wherein ſeven kings, moſt of whom were ſlain, reigned ſo long a time in continual ſucceſſion. By contracting, therefore, the reigns of theſe kings, and thoſe of the kings of Alba, he places the building of Rome, not in the ſeventh, but in the 38th olympiad.

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, on the contrary, ſays, the affair was debated in the ſenate with great moderation; and when it could not be ſettled there, whether they ſhould prefer honour or profit, it was referred to the people, who, to their immortal praiſe, carried it, by a majority of one vote, for honour.

In the mean time Tarquinius made but ſmall account of his effects; but the demand of them furniſhed a pretence for ſounding the people, and for preparing a ſcene of treachery. This was carried on by the ambaſſadors under pretence of taking care of the effects, part of which they ſaid they were to ſell, part to collect, and the reſt to ſend away. Thus they gained time to corrupt two of the beſt families in Rome, that of the Aquilii, in which were three ſenators, and the Vitellizi, among whom were two. All theſe, by the mother's ſide, were nephews to Collatinus the conſul. The Vitellii were likewiſe allied to Brutus; for their ſiſter was his wife, and he had ſeveral children by her *; two of whom, juſt arrived at years of maturity, and being of their kindred and acquaintance, the Vitellii drew in, and perſuaded to engage in the conſpiracy; inſinuating, that by this means, they might marry into the family of the Tarquins, ſhare in their royal proſpects, and, at the ſame time, be ſet free from the yoke of a ſtupid and cruel father. For, his inflexibility in puniſhing criminals, they called cruelty; and the ſtupidity, which he had uſed a long time as a cloak to ſhelter him from the bloody deſigns of the tyrants, had procured him the name of *Brutus* †, which he refuſed not to be known by afterwards.

The youths thus engaged, were brought to confer with the Aquilii; and all agreed to take a great and horrible oath, by drinking together of the blood ‡, and taſting ‖ the entrails of a man ſacrificed for that purpoſe. This ceremony was performed in the houſe of the Aquilii; and the room choſen for it (as it was natural to ſuppoſe) was dark and retired. But a ſlave, named Vindicius, lurked there undiſcovered. Not that he had placed himſelf in that room by deſign; nor had he any ſuſpicion of what was going to be tranſacted; but happening to be there, and

* Dionyſius and Livy make mention of no more than two; but Plutarch agrees with thoſe who ſay that Brutus had more, and that Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæſar, was deſcended from one of them. Cicero is among thoſe that hold the latter opinion; or elſe he pretended to be ſo, to make the cauſe and perſon of Brutus more popular.

† Tarquin had put the father and brother of Brutus to death.

‡ They thought ſuch a horrid ſacrifice would oblige every member of the conſpiracy to inviolable ſecrecy. Catiline put the ſame in practice afterwards.

‖ The word θιγειν, ſignifies *to taſte*, as well as *to touch*.

and perceiving with what haste and concern they entered, he stopped short for fear of being seen, and hid himself behind a chest; yet so that he could see what was done, and hear what was resolved upon. They came to a resolution to kill the consuls; and having wrote letters to signify as much to Tarquin, they gave them to the ambassadors, who then were guests to the Aquilii, and present at the conspiracy.

When the affair was over they withdrew, and Vindicius, stealing from his lurking-hole, was not determined what to do, but disturbed with doubts. He thought it shocking, as indeed it was, to accuse the sons of the most horrid crimes to their father Brutus, or the nephews, to their uncle Collatinus; and it did not presently occur to him that any private Roman was fit to be trusted with so important a secret. On the other hand, he was so much tormented with the knowledge of such an abominable treason, that he could do any thing rather than conceal it. At length, induced by the public spirit and humanity of Valerius, he bethought himself of applying to him, a man easy of access, and willing to be consulted by the necessitous, whose house was always open, and who never refused to hear the petitions even of the meanest of the people.

Accordingly Vindicius coming, and discovering to him the whole, in the presence of his brother Marcus and his wife; Valerius astonished and terrified at the plot, would not let the man go, but shut him up in the room, and left his wife to watch the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the late king's palace, to seize the letters, if possible, and to secure the servants; while himself, with many clients and friends whom he always had about him, and a numerous retinue of servants, went to the house of the Aquilii. As they were gone out, and no one expected him, he forced open the doors, and found the letters in the ambassadors' room. Whilst he was thus employed, the Aquilii ran home in great haste, and engaged with him at the door, endeavouring to force the letters from him. But Valerius and his party repelled their attack, and twisting their gowns about their necks, after much struggling on both sides, dragged them with great difficulty through the streets into the *forum*. Marcus Valerius had the same success at the royal palace, where he seized other letters ready to be conveyed away among the goods,

laid

laid hands on what servants of the king's he could find, and had them also into the *forum*.

When the consuls had put a stop to the tumult, Vindicius was produced by order of Valerius; and the accusation being lodged, the letters were read, which the traitors had not the assurance to contradict. A melancholy stillness reigned among the rest; but a few, willing to favour Brutus, mentioned banishment. The tears of Collatinus, and the silence of Valerius, gave some hopes of mercy. But Brutus called upon each of his sons by name, and said, *You, Titus, and you, Valerius* *, *why do not you make your defence against the charge?* After they had been thus questioned three several times, and made no answer, he turned to the *lictors*, and said, *Yours is the part that remains.* The *lictors* immediately laid hold on the youths, stripped them of their garments, and, having tied their hands behind them, flogged them severely with their rods. And though others turned their eyes aside, unable to endure the spectacle, yet it is said that Brutus neither looked another way, nor suffered pity in the least to smooth his stern and angry countenance †; regarding his sons as they suffered with a threatening aspect, till they were extended on the ground, and their heads cut off with the ax. Then he departed, leaving the rest to his colleague. This was an action which it is not easy to praise or condemn with propriety. For either the excess of virtue raised his soul above the influence of the passions, or else the excess of resentment depressed it into insensibility. Neither the one nor the other was natural, or suitable to the human faculties, but was either divine or brutal. It is more equitable, however, that our judgment should give its sanction to the glory of this great man, than that our weakness should incline us to doubt of his virtue. For the Romans do not look upon it as so glorious a work, for Romulus to have built the city, as for Brutus to have founded and established the commonwealth.

 After

* The name of Brutus's second son was not Valerius, but Tiberius.

* Livy gives a different account of Brutus's behaviour. *Quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque et os ejus, spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium.* There could not be a more striking spectacle than the countenance of Brutus, for anguish sate mixed with dignity, and he could not conceal the father, though he supported the magistrate. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 5.

After Brutus had left the tribunal, the thought of what was done involved the reſt in aſtoniſhment, horror, and ſilence. But the eaſineſs and forbearance of Collatinus gave freſh ſpirits to the Aquilii, they begged time to make their defence, and deſired that their ſlave Vindicius might be reſtored to them, and not remain with their accuſers. The conſul was inclined to grant their requeſt, and thereupon to diſmiſs the aſſembly; but Valerius would neither ſuffer the ſlave to be taken from among the crowd, nor the people to diſmiſs the traitors and withdraw. At laſt he ſeized the criminals himſelf, and called for Brutus, exclaiming that Collatinus acted moſt unworthily, in laying his colleague under the hard neceſſity of putting his own ſons to death, and then inclining to gratify the women by releaſing the betrayers and enemies of their country. Collatinus, upon this, loſing all patience, commanded Vindicius to be taken away; the lictors made way through the crowd, ſeized the man, and came to blows with ſuch as endeavoured to reſcue him. The friends of Valerius ſtood upon their defence, and the people cried out for Brutus. Brutus returned; and ſilence being made, he ſaid, *It was enough for him to give judgment upon his own ſons; as for the reſt, he left them to the ſentence of the people, who were now free; and any one that choſe it, might plead before them.* They did not, however, wait for pleadings, but immediately put it to the vote, with one voice condemned them to die; and the traitors were beheaded. Collatinus, it ſeems, was ſomewhat ſuſpected before, on account of his near relation to the royal family *; and one of his names was obnoxious to the people, for they abhorred the very name of Tarquin. But on this occaſion he had provoked them beyond expreſſion; and therefore he voluntarily reſigned the conſulſhip, and retired from the city. A new election conſequently was held, and Valerius declared conſul with great honour, as a proper mark of gratitude for his patriotic zeal. As he was of opinion that Vindicius ſhould have his ſhare of the reward, he procured a decree of the people that the freedom of the city ſhould be given

* Lucius Tarquinius, the ſon of Egerius, and nephew of Tarquinius Priſcus, was called Collatinus, from Collatia, of which he was governor. Tarquinius Superbus, and Egerius the father of Collatinus, were firſt couſins.

given him, which was never conferred on a ſlave before, and that he ſhould be enrolled in what tribe he pleaſed, and give his ſuffrage with it. As for other freedmen, Appius, wanting to make himſelf popular, procured them a right of voting, long after. The act of enfranchiſing a ſlave is to this day called *Vindicta*, (we are told) from this Vindicius.

The next ſtep that was taken, was to give up the goods of the Tarquins to be plundered; and their palace and other houſes were levelled with the ground. The pleaſanteſt part of the *Campus Martius* had been in their poſſeſſion, and this was now conſecrated to the god Mars *. It happened to be the time of harveſt, and the ſheaves then lay upon the ground; but as it was conſecrated, they thought it not lawful to threſh the corn, or to make uſe of it; a great number of hands, therefore, took it up in baſkets, and threw it into the river. The trees were alſo cut down and thrown in after it, and the ground left entirely without fruit or product, for the ſervice of the god †. A great quantity of different ſorts of things being thus thrown in together, they were not carried far by the current, but only to the ſhallows where the firſt heaps had ſtopped. Finding no farther paſſage, every thing ſettled there, and the whole was bound ſtill faſter by the river; for that waſhed down to it a deal of mud, which not only added to the maſs, but ſerved as a cement to it; and the current, far from diſſolving it, by its gentle preſſure gave it the greater firmneſs. The bulk and ſolidity of this maſs received continual additions, moſt of what was brought down by the Tiber ſettling there. It is now an iſland ſacred to religious uſes ‡; ſeveral temples and porticos have been built upon it, and it is called in Latin, *Inter duos pontes* ||, the iſland *between the two bridges*. Some ſay, however, that this did not happen at the dedication of Tarquin's field, but ſome ages after, when Tarquinia, a veſtal, gave another adjacent field to the public; for which ſhe was honoured with great privileges,

* Plutarch ſhould have ſaid re-conſecrated. For it was devoted to that god in the time of Romulus, as appears from his laws. But the Tarquins had ſacrilegiouſly converted it to their own uſe.

† A field ſo kept, was very properly adapted to the ſervice of the god of war, who lays waſte all before him.

‡ Livy ſays it was ſecured againſt the force of the current by jettees.

|| The Fabrician bridge joined it to the city on the ſide of the capitol, and the Ceſtian bridge on the ſide of the Janiculine gate.

vileges, particularly that of giving her teſtimony in court, which was refuſed to all other women; they likewiſe voted her liberty to marry, but ſhe did not accept it. This is the account, though ſeemingly fabulous, which ſome give of the matter.

Tarquin, deſpairing to reaſcend the throne by ſtratagem, applied to the Tuſcans, who gave him a kind reception, and prepared to conduct him back with a great armament. The conſuls led the Roman forces againſt them; and the two armies were drawn up in certain conſecrated parcels of ground, the one called the Arſian grove, the other the Æſuvian meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns, the ſon of Tarquin, and Brutus the Roman conſul *, met each other, not by accident, but deſign; animated by hatred and reſentment, the one againſt a tyrant and enemy of his country, the other to revenge his baniſhment, they ſpurred their horſes to the encounter. As they engaged rather with fury than conduct, they laid themſelves open, and fell by each other's hand. The battle, whoſe onſet was ſo dreadful, had not a milder concluſion: the carnage was prodigious, and equal on both ſides, till at length the armies were ſeparated by a ſtorm.

Valerius was in great perplexity, as he knew not which ſide had the victory, and found his men as much diſmayed at the ſight of their own dead, as animated by the loſs of the enemy. So great, indeed, was the ſlaughter, that it could not be diſtinguiſhed who had the advantage; and each army having a near view of their own loſs, and only gueſſing at that of the enemy, were inclined to think themſelves vanquiſhed, rather than victorious. When night came on, (ſuch a night as one might imagine after ſo bloody a day) and both camps were huſhed in ſilence and repoſe, it is ſaid that the grove ſhook, and a loud voice proceeding from it declared, that *the Tuſcans had loſt one man more than the Romans.* The voice was undoubtedly divine †; for immediately upon that the Romans recovered their ſpirits, and the field rung with accla-

* Brutus is deſervedly reckoned among the moſt illuſtrious heroes. He reſtored liberty to his country, ſecured it with the blood of his own ſons, and died in defending it againſt a tyrant. The Romans afterwards erected his ſtatue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midſt of the kings of Rome, with a naked ſword in his hand.

† It was ſaid to be the voice of the god Pan.

acclamations; while the Tuſcans, ſtruck with fear and confuſion, deſerted their camp, and moſt of them diſperſed. As for thoſe that remained, who were not quite five thouſand, the Romans took them priſoners, and plundered the camp. When the dead were numbered, there were found on the ſide of the Tuſcans eleven thouſand three hundred, and on that of the Romans as many, excepting one. This battle is ſaid to have been fought on the laſt of February. Valerius was honoured with a triumph, and was the firſt conſul that made his entry in a chariot and four. The occaſion rendered the ſpectacle glorious and venerable, not invidious, and (as ſome would have it) grievous to the Romans; for, if that had been the caſe, the cuſtom would not have been ſo zealouſly kept up, nor would the ambition to obtain a triumph have laſted ſo many ages. The people were pleaſed, too, with the honours paid by Valerius to the remains of his colleague, his burying him with ſo much pomp, and pronouncing his funeral oration; which laſt the Romans ſo generally approved, or rather were ſo much charmed with, that afterwards all the great and illuſtrious men among them, upon their deceaſe, had their encomium from perſons of diſtinction *. This funeral oration was more ancient than any among the Greeks; unleſs we allow, what Anaximenes, the orator, relates, that Solon was the author of this cuſtom.

But that which offended and exaſperated the people was this: Brutus, whom they conſidered as the father of liberty, would not rule alone, but took to himſelf a firſt and a ſecond colleague; *yet this man* (ſaid they) *graſps the whole authority, and is not the ſucceſſor to the conſulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. To what purpoſe is it in words to extol Brutus, and in deeds to imitate Tarquin, while he has all the rods and axes carried before him alone, and ſets out from a houſe more ſtately than the royal palace which he demoliſhed?* It is true, Valerius did live in a houſe too lofty and ſuperb, on

* Funeral orations were not in uſe among the Greeks till the battle of Marathon, which was ſixteen years after the death of Brutus. The heroes that fell ſo glorioufly there, did, indeed, well deſerve ſuch eulogiums; and the Grecians never granted them but to thoſe that were ſlain fighting for their country. In this reſpect the cuſtom of the Romans was more equitable; for they honoured with thoſe public marks of regard ſuch as had ſerved their country in any capacity.

on the Velian eminence, which commanded the *forum* and every thing that paſſed; and as the avenues were difficult, and the aſcent ſteep, when he came down from it his appearance was very pompous, and reſembled the ſtate of a king rather than that of a conſul. But he ſoon ſhewed of what conſequence it is for perſons in high ſtations and authority to have their ears open to truth and good advice, rather than flattery. For when his friends informed him, that moſt people thought he was taking wrong ſteps, he made no diſpute, nor expreſſed any reſentment, but haſtily aſſembled a number of workmen whilſt it was yet night, who demoliſhed his houſe entirely; ſo that when the Romans in the morning aſſembled to look upon it, they admired and adored his magnanimity; but, at the ſame time, were troubled to ſee ſo grand and magnificent an edifice ruined by the envy of the citizens, as they would have lamented the death of a great man who had fallen as ſuddenly, and by the ſame cauſe. It gave them pain, too, to ſee the conſul, who had now no home, obliged to take ſhelter in another man's houſe. For Valerius was entertained by his friends, till the people provided a piece of ground for him, where a leſs ſtately houſe was built, in the place where the temple of *Victory* now ſtands*.

Deſirous to make his high office, as well as himſelf, rather agreeable than formidable to the people, he ordered the axes to be taken away from the rods, and that, whenever he went to the great aſſembly, the rods ſhould be availed in reſpect to the citizens, as if the ſupreme power were lodged in *them*. A cuſtom which the conſuls obſerve to this day. The people were not aware, that by this he did not leſſen his own power, (as they imagined) but only by ſuch an inſtance of moderation obviated and cut off all occaſion of envy; and gained as much authority to his perſon, as he ſeemed to take from his office; for they all ſubmitted to him with pleaſure, and were ſo much charmed with his behaviour, that they gave him the name of *Publicola*, that is, the *People's reſpectful*

* Plutarch has it, *where the temple called* Vicus Publicus *now ſtands*. He had found in the hiſtorians *vicæ potæ*, which in old Latin ſignifies *victory*; but as he did not underſtand it, he ſubſtituted *Vicus Publicus*, which here would have no ſenſe at all.

† The axes too were ſtill borne before the conſuls when they were in the field.

spectful friend. In this both his former names were lost; and this we shall make use of in the sequel of his life.

Indeed, it was no more than his due; for he permitted all to sue for the consulship*. Yet, before a colleague was appointed him, as he knew not what might happen, and was apprehensive of some opposition from ignorance or envy, while he had the sole power he made use of it to establish some of the most useful and excellent regulations. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which then was very thin; several of that august body having been put to death by Tarquin before, and others fallen in the late battle. He is said to have made up the number a hundred and sixty-four. In the next place, he caused certain laws to be enacted, which greatly augmented the power of the people. The first gave liberty of appeal from the consuls to the people; the second made it death to enter upon the magistracy, without the people's consent; the third was greatly in favour of the poor, as, by exempting them from taxes†, it promoted their attention to manufactures‡. Even his law against disobedience to the consuls, was not less popular than the rest; and, in effect, it favoured the commonalty rather than the great; for the fine was only the value of five oxen and two sheep. The value of a sheep was ten *oboli*, of an ox a hundred ‡; the Romans as yet not making much use of money, because their wealth consisted in abundance of cattle. To this day they call their substance *peculia*, from *pecus*, cattle, their most ancient coins having the impression of an ox, a sheep, or a hog; and their sons being distinguished with the names of *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*, derived from the names of such animals.

Though these laws of Publicola were popular and equitable; yet, amidst this moderation, the punishment he appointed, in one case, was severe. For he made it lawful, without a form of trial, to kill any man that should

* If Publicola gave the plebeians, as well as the patricians, a right to the consulate, that right did not then take place. For Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian who arrived at that honour, many ages after the time of which Plutarch speaks; and this continued but eleven years; for in the twelfth, which was the four hundredth year of Rome, both the consuls were again patricians. Liv. vii. cap. 18.

† He exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute.

‡ Before, the fine was such as the commonalty could not pay without absolute ruin.

ſhould attempt to ſet himſelf up for king; and the perſon that took away his life, was to ſtand excuſed, if he could make proof of the intended crime. His reaſon for ſuch a law, we preſume, was this: though it is not poſſible that he who undertakes ſo great an enterpriſe, ſhould eſcape all notice; yet it is very probable that, though ſuſpected, he may accompliſh his deſigns before he can be brought to anſwer for it in a judicial way; and as the crime, if committed, would prevent his being called to account for it, this law impowered any one to puniſh him before ſuch cognizance was taken.

His law concerning the treaſury, did him honour. It was neceſſary that money ſhould be raiſed for the war from the eſtates of the citizens, but he determined that neither himſelf nor any of his friends ſhould have the diſpoſal of it; nor would he ſuffer it to be lodged in any private houſe.—He, therefore, appointed the temple of Saturn to be the treaſury, which they ſtill make uſe of for that purpoſe, and impowered the people to chooſe two young men as *quæſtors*, or *treaſurers**. The firſt were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minutius; and a large ſum was collected; for a hundred and thirty thouſand perſons were taxed, though the orphans and widows ſtood excuſed.

Theſe matters thus regulated, he procured Lucretius, the father of the injured Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague. To him he gave the *faſces* (as they are called) together with the precedency, as the older man; and this mark of reſpect to age has ever ſince continued. As Lucretius died a few days after, another election was held, and Marcus Horatius † appointed in his room for the remaining part of the year.

About that time, Tarquin making preparations for a ſecond war againſt the Romans, a great prodigy is ſaid to have happened. This prince, while yet upon the throne, had

* The office of the quæſtors was to take care of the public treaſure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the public; and to receive ambaſſadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other neceſſaries. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the ſpoils he had taken, and ſworn to it. There were at firſt two quæſtors only, but when the Roman empire was conſiderably enlarged, their number was increaſed. The office of quæſtor, though often diſcharged by perſons who had been conſuls, was the firſt ſtep to great employments.

† Horatius Pulvillus.

had almoſt finiſhed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when either by the direction of an oracle*, or upon ſome fancy of his own, he ordered the artiſts of Veii to make an earthen chariot, which was to be placed on the top of it. Soon after this he forfeited the crown. The Tuſcans, however, moulded the chariot, and ſet it in the furnace; but the caſe was very different with it from that of other clay in the fire, which condenſes and contracts upon the exhalation of the moiſture, whereas it enlarged itſelf and ſwelled, till it grew to ſuch a ſize and hardneſs, that it was with difficulty they got it out, even after the furnace was diſmantled. The ſoothſayers being of opinion, that this chariot betokened power and ſucceſs to the perſons with whom it ſhould remain, the people of Veii determined not to give it up to the Romans; but, upon their demanding it, returned this anſwer, That it belonged to Tarquin, not to thoſe that had driven him from his kingdom. It happened that a few days after, there was a chariot-race at Veii, which was obſerved as uſual; except that, as the charioteer, who had won the prize and received the crown, was gently driving out of the ring, the horſes took fright from no viſible cauſe; but, either by ſome direction of the gods, or turn of fortune, ran away with their driver, at full ſpeed, towards Rome. It was in vain that he pulled the reins, or ſoothed them with words, he was obliged to give way to the career, and was whirled along, till they came to the capitol, where they flung him, at the gate now called *Ratumena*. The Veientes, ſurpriſed and terrified at this incident, ordered the artiſts to deliver up the chariot†.

Tarquin, the ſon of Demoratus, in his wars with the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus; which was performed by Tarquin *the proud*, ſon or grandſon to the former. He did not, however, conſecrate it, for it was not quite finiſhed, when he was expelled from Rome‡. When the laſt hand was put to it, and

* It was an uſual thing to place chariots on the tops of temples.

† A miracle of this kind, and not leſs extraordinary, is ſaid to have happened in modern Rome. When poor St. Michael's church was in a ruinous condition, the horſes that were employed in drawing ſtones through the city, unanimouſly agreed to carry their loads to St. Michael.

‡ This temple was 200 feet long, and 185 and upwards broad. The front was adorned with three rows of columns, and the ſides with two. In the nave were three ſhrines, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva.

and it had received every ſuitable ornament, Publicola was ambitious of the honour of dedicating it. This excited the envy of ſome of the nobility, who could better brook his other honours; to which, indeed, in his legiſlative and military capacities, he had a better claim; but, as he had no concern in this, they did not think proper to grant it him, but encouraged and importuned Horatius to apply for it. In the mean time, Publicola's command of the army neceſſarily required his abſence, and his adverſaries taking the opportunity to procure an order from the people, that Horatius ſhould dedicate the temple, conducted him to the capitol. A point which they could not have gained had Publicola been preſent. Yet ſome ſay, the conſuls having caſt lots for it*, the dedication fell to Horatius, and the expedition, againſt his inclination, to Publicola. But we may eaſily conjecture how they ſtood diſpoſed, by the proceedings on the day of dedication. This was the thirteenth of September, which is about the full moon of the month *Metagitnion*, when prodigious numbers of all ranks being aſſembled, and ſilence enjoined, Horatius, after the other ceremonies, took hold of one of the gate-poſts, (as the cuſtom is) and was going to pronounce the prayer of conſecration. But Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had ſtood for ſome time by the gates watching his opportunity, cried out, *Conſul, your ſon lies dead in the camp.* This gave great pain to all that heard it; but the conſul not in the leaſt diſconcerted, made anſwer, *Then caſt out the dead where you pleaſe, I admit of no mourning on this occaſion;* and ſo proceeded to finiſh the dedication. The news was not true, but an invention of Marcus, who hoped by that means to hinder Horatius from compleating what he was about. But his preſence of mind is equally admirable, whether he immediately perceived the falſity, or believed the account to be true, without ſhewing any emotion.

The ſame fortune attended the dedication of the ſecond temple. The firſt, built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius, as we have related, was afterwards deſtroyed by fire in the civil wars†. Sylla rebuilt it, but did not live

* Livy ſays poſitively, *they caſt lots for it.* Plutarch ſeems to have taken the ſequel of the ſtory from him. Liv. lib. ii. c. 8.

† After the firſt temple was deſtroyed in the wars between Sylla and Marius, Sylla rebuilt it with columns of marble, which he had taken out

live to conſecrate it; ſo the dedication of this ſecond temple fell to Catulus. It was again deſtroyed in the troubles which happened in the time of Vitellius; and a third was build by Veſpaſian, who, with his uſual good fortune, put the laſt hand to it, but did not ſee it demoliſhed, as it was ſoon after: happier in this reſpect than Sylla, who died before his was dedicated, Veſpaſian died before his was deſtroyed. For immediately after his deceaſe, the capitol was burnt. The fourth, which now ſtands, was built and dedicated by Domitian. Tarquin is ſaid to have expended thirty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver upon the foundations only; but the greateſt wealth any private man is ſuppoſed to be now poſſeſſed of in Rome, would not anſwer the expence of the gilding of the preſent temple, which amounted to more than twelve thouſand talents *. The pillars are of Pentelic marble, and the thickneſs was in excellent proportion to their length, when we ſaw them at Athens; but when they were cut and poliſhed anew at Rome, they gained not ſo much in the poliſh, as they loſt in the proportion; for their beauty is injured by their appearing too ſlender for their height. But after admiring the magnificence of the capitol, if any one was to go and ſee a gallery, a hall, or bath, or the apartments of the women, in Domitian's palace, what is ſaid by Epicharmus of a prodigal,

> Your laviſh'd ſtores ſpeak not the liberal mind,
> But the diſeaſe of giving;

he might apply to Domitian in ſome ſuch manner as this: *Neither piety nor magnificence appears in your expence; you have*

out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and tranſported to Rome. But (as Plutarch obſerves) he did not live to conſecrate it; and he was heard to ſay, as he was dying, that his leaving that temple to be dedicated by another, was the only unfortunate circumſtance of his life.

* 194,350*l.* ſterling. In this we may ſee the great diſtance between the wealth of private citizens in a free country, and that of the ſubjects of an arbitary monarch. In Trajan's time there was not a private man in Rome worth 200,000*l.*; whereas under the commonwealth, Æmilius Scaurus, in his ædileſhip, erected a temporary theatre which coſt above 500,000*l.*; Marcus Craſſus had an eſtate in land of above a million a year; L. Cornelius Balbus left by will, to every Roman citiz n, twenty-five *denarii*, which amounts to about ſixteen ſhillings of our money; and many private men among the Romans maintained from ten to twenty thouſand ſlaves, not ſo much for ſervice as oſtentation. No wonder then that the ſlaves once took up arms, and went to war with the Roman commonwealth.

have the disease of building; like Midas of old, you would turn every thing to gold and marble. So much for this ſubject.

Let us now return to Tarquin. After that great battle in which he loſt his ſon, who was killed in ſingle combat by Brutus, he fled to Cluſium, and begged aſſiſtance of Laras Porſena, then the moſt powerful prince in Italy, and a man of great worth and honour. Porſena promiſed him ſuccours*; and, in the firſt place, ſent to the Romans, commanding them to receive Tarquin. Upon their refuſal, he declared war againſt them; and having informed them of the time when, and the place where, he would make his aſſault, he marched thither accordingly with a great army. Publicola, who was then abſent, was choſen conſul the ſecond time†, and with him Titus Lucretius. Returning to Rome, and deſirous to outdo Porſena in ſpirit‡, he built the town of Sigliuria, notwithſtanding the enemy's approach; and when he had finiſhed the walls at a great expence, he placed in it a colony of ſeven hundred men, as if he held his adverſary very cheap. Porſena, however, aſſaulted it in a ſpirited manner, drove out the garriſon, and purſued the fugitives ſo cloſe, that he was near entering Rome along with them. But Publicola met him without the gates, and joining battle by the river, ſuſtained the enemy's attack, who preſſed on with numbers, till at laſt ſinking under the wounds he had gallantly received, he was carried out of the battle. Lucretius, his colleague, having the ſame fate, the courage of the Romans drooped, and they retreated into the city for ſecurity. The enemy making good the purſuit to the wooden-bridge, Rome was in great danger of being taken; when Horatius Cocles‖, and with him two others of the firſt rank, Herminius and Spurius Lartius§, ſtopped them at the bridge. Horatius had

* Beſides that Porſena was willing to aſſiſt a diſtreſſed king, he conſidered the Tarquins as his countrymen, for they were of Tuſcan extraction.

† It was when Publicola was conſul the third time, and had for colleague Horatius Pulvillus, that Porſena marched againſt Rome.

‡ Sigliuria was not built at this time, nor out of oſtentation, as Plutarch ſays; for it was built as a barrier againſt the Latins and the Hernici, and not in the third, but in the ſecond conſulſhip of Publicola.

‖ He was ſon to a brother of Horatius the conſul, and a deſcendant of that Horatius who remained victorious in the great combat between the Horatii and Curiatii in the reign of Tullus Hoſtilius.

§ In the Greek text it is Lucretius, which we ſuppoſe is a corruption of Lartius, the name we find in Livy.

had the furname of *Cocles* from his having loft an eye, in the wars: or, as fome will have it, from the form of his nofe, which was fo very flat, that both his eyes, as well as eye-brows, feemed to be joined together; fo that when the vulgar intended to call him *Cyclops*, by a mifnomer, they called him *Cocles*, which name remained with him. This man ftanding at the head of the bridge, defended it againft the enemy, till the Romans broke it down behind him. Then he plunged into the Tyber, armed as he was, and fwam to the other fide, but was wounded in the hip with a Tufcan fpear. Publicola, ftruck with admiration of his valour, immediately procured a decree, that every Roman fhould give him one-day's provifions *; and that he fhould have as much land as he himfelf could encircle with a plough in one day. Befides, they erected his ftatue in brafs in the temple of Vulcan, with a view to confole him by this honour for his wound, and lamenefs confequent upon it †.

While Porfena laid clofe fiege to the city, the Romans were attacked with famine, and another body of Tufcans laid wafte the country. Publicola, who was now conful the third time, was of opinion that no operations could be carried on againft Porfena but defenfive ones. He marched out ‡, however, privately againft thofe Tufcans who had committed fuch ravages, defeated them, and killed five thoufand.

The ftory of Mucius || has been the fubject of many pens, and is varioufly related: I fhall give that account of it, which feems moft credible. Mucius was in all refpects a man of merit, but particularly diftinguifhed by his valour. Having fecretly formed a fcheme to take off Porfena, he made his way into his camp in a Tufcan drefs, where he likewife took care to fpeak the Tufcan language. In this difguife he approached the feat where the

* Probably he had three hundred thoufand contributors, for even the women readily gave in their quota.

† This defect, and his having but one eye, prevented his ever being conful.

‡ The confuls fpread a report, which was foon carried into the Tufcan camp by the flaves who deferted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be fent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambufh.

|| Mucius Cordus.

the king ſat with his nobles; and as he did not certainly know Porſena, and thought it improper to aſk, he drew his ſword and killed the perſon that ſeemed moſt likely to be the king. Upon this he was ſeized and examined. Mean time, as there happened to be a portable altar there, with fire upon it, where the king was about to offer ſacrifice, Mucius thruſt his right-hand into it*; and as the fleſh was burning, he kept looking upon Porſena with a firm and menacing aſpect, till the king, aſtoniſhed at his fortitude, returned him his ſword with his own hand. He received it with his left-hand, from whence we are told he had the ſurname of *Scævola*, which ſignifies *left-handed;* and thus addreſſed himſelf to Porſena, "Your threatenings I regarded not, but am conquered "by your generoſity, and out of gratitude, will declare "to you what no force ſhould have wreſted from me. "There are three hundred Romans that have taken the "ſame reſolution with mine, who now walk about your "camp, watching their opportunity. It was my lot to "make the firſt attempt, and I am not ſorry that my "ſword was directed by fortune againſt another, inſtead "of a man of ſo much honour, who, as ſuch, ſhould ra-"ther be a friend, than an enemy to the Romans." Porſena believed this account, and was more inclined to hearken to terms, not ſo much, in my opinion, through fear of the three hundred aſſaſſins, as admiration of the dignity of the Roman valour. All authors call this man Mucius Scævola †, except Athenodorus Sandon, who, in a work addreſſed to Octavia, ſiſter to Auguſtus, ſays he was named Poſthumius.

Publicola, who did not look upon Porſena as ſo bitter an enemy to Rome, but that he deſerved to be taken into its friendſhip and alliance, was ſo far from refuſing to refer the diſpute with Tarquin to his deciſion, that he was really deſirous of it, and ſeveral times offered to prove that Tarquin was the worſt of men, and juſtly deprived of the crown. When Tarquin roughly anſwered, that he would admit of no arbitrator, much leſs of Porſena, if he changed his mind and forſook his alliance. Porſena

* Livy ſays, that Porſena threatened Mucius with the torture by fire, to make him diſcover his accomplices; whereupon Mucius thruſt his hand into the flame, to let him ſee that he was not to be intimidated.

† Mucius was rewarded with a large piece of ground belonging to the public.

Porſena was offended, and began to entertain an ill opinion of him; being likewiſe ſolicited to it by his ſon Aruns, who uſed all his intereſt for the Romans, he was prevailed upon to put an end to the war, on condition that they gave up that part of Tuſcany which they had conquered *, together with the priſoners, and received their deſerters. For the performance of theſe conditions, they gave as hoſtages ten young men and as many virgins, of the beſt families in Rome; among whom was Valeria the daughter of Publicola.

Upon the faith of this treaty, Porſena had ceaſed from all acts of hoſtility, when the Roman virgins went down to bathe, at a place where the bank forming itſelf in a creſcent, embraces the river in ſuch a manner, that there it is quite calm and undiſturbed with waves. As no guard was near, and they ſaw none paſſing or repaſſing, they had a violent inclination to ſwim over, notwithſtanding the depth and ſtrength of the ſtream. Some ſay one of them, named Clœlia, paſſed it on horſeback, and encouraged the other virgins as they ſwam. When they came ſafe to Publicola, he neither commended nor approved their exploit, but was grieved to think he ſhould appear unequal to Porſena in point of honour, and that this daring enterprize of the virgins ſhould make the Romans ſuſpected of unfair proceeding. He took them, therefore, and ſent them back to Porſena. Tarquin having timely intelligence of this, laid an ambuſcade for them, and attacked their convoy. They defended themſelves, though greatly inferior in number; and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, broke through them as they were engaged, with three ſervants, who conducted her ſafe to Porſena's camp. As the ſkirmiſh was not yet decided, nor the danger over, Aruns, the ſon of Porſena, being informed of it, marched up with all ſpeed, put the enemy to flight, and reſcued the Romans. When Porſena ſaw the virgins returned, he demanded which of them was ſhe that propoſed the deſign, and ſet the example. When he underſtood that Clœlia was the perſon, he treated her with great politeneſs, and commanding one of his own horſes to be brought with very elegant trappings, he made her a preſent of it. Thoſe that ſay,

 Clœlia

* The Romans were required to reinſtate the Veientes in the poſſeſſion of ſeven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars.

Clœlia was the only one that paſſed the river on horſeback, allege this as a proof. Others ſay no ſuch conſequence can be drawn from it, and that it was nothing more than a mark of honour to her from the Tuſcan king, for her bravery. An equeſtrian ſtatue of her ſtands in the *Via ſacra* *, where it leads to mount *Palatine*; yet ſome will have even this to be Valeria's ſtatue, not Clœlia's.

Porſena, thus reconciled to the Romans, gave many proofs of his greatneſs of mind. Among the reſt, he ordered the Tuſcans to carry off nothing but their arms, and to leave their camp full of proviſions and many other things of value, for the Romans. Hence it is, that even in our times, whenever there is a ſale of goods belonging to the public, they are cried firſt as the goods of Porſena, to eternize the memory of his generoſity. A brazen ſtatue, of rude and antique workmanſhip, was alſo erected to his honour, near the ſenate-houſe †.

After this, the Sabines invading the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, and Poſthumius Tubertus, were elected conſuls. As every important action was ſtill conducted by the advice and aſſiſtance of Publicola, Marcus gained two great battles; in the ſecond of which he killed thirteen thouſand of the enemy, without the loſs of one Roman. For this he was not only rewarded with a triumph, but a houſe was built for him at the public expence, on mount Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houſes at that time opened inwards, the ſtreet-door of that houſe was made to open outwards, to ſhew by ſuch an honourable diſtinction, that he was always ready to receive any propoſal for the public ſervice ‡. All the doors in Greece, they tell us, were formerly made to open ſo, which they prove from thoſe paſſages in the comedies, where it is mentioned, that thoſe that went out knocked loud on the inſide of the doors firſt, to give warning to ſuch as paſſed by or ſtood before them, leſt the doors in opening ſhould daſh againſt them.

The

* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus tells us in expreſs terms, that in his time, that is, in the reign of Auguſtus, there were no remains of that ſtatue, it having been conſumed by fire.

† The ſenate likewiſe ſent an embaſſy to him, with a preſent of a throne adorned with ivory, a ſceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe.

‡ Poſthumius had his ſhare in the triumph, as well as in the achievements.

The year following, Publicola was appointed consul the fourth time, because a confederacy between the Sabines and Latins threatened a war; and, at the same time, the city was oppressed with superstitious terrors, on account of the imperfect births, and general abortions among the women. Publicola, having consulted the Sibyl's books upon it*, offered sacrifice to Pluto, and renewed certain games that had formerly been instituted by the direction of the Delphic oracle. When he had revived the city with the pleasing hope that the gods were appeased, he prepared to arm against the menaces of men; for there appeared to be a formidable league and strong armament against him. Among the Sabines, Appius Clausus was a man of an opulent fortune, and remarkable personal strength; famed, moreover, for his virtues, and the force of his eloquence. What is the fate of all great men, to be persecuted by envy, was likewise his: and his opposing the war gave a handle to malignity to insinuate that he wanted to strengthen the Roman power, in order the more easily to enslave his own country. Perceiving that the populace gave a willing ear to these calumnies, and that he was become obnoxious to the abettors of the war, he was apprehensive of an impeachment; but being powerfully supported by his friends and relations, he bade his enemies defiance. This delayed the war, Publicola making it his business not only to get intelligence of this sedition, but also to encourage and inflame it, sent proper persons to Appius, to tell him, "That

* An unknown woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine volumes of oracles written by the *Sibyl* of Cuma, for which she demanded a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to purchase them at her rate, she burnt three of them, and then asked the same price for the remaining six. Her proposal being rejected with scorn, she burnt three more, and, notwithstanding, still insisted on her first price. Tarquin, surprised at the novelty of the thing, put the books in the hands of the augurs to be examined, who advised him to purchase them at any rate: Accordingly he did, and appointed two persons of distinction, styled *Duumviri*, to be guardians of them, who locked them up in a vault under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there they were kept till they were burnt with the temple itself. These officers, whose number was afterwards increased, consulted the Sibylline books, by direction of the senate, when some dangerous sedition was likely to break out, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared which were thought fatal. They also presided over the sacrifices and shews, which they appointed to appease the wrath of heaven.

" That he was sensible he was a man of too much goodness and integrity, to avenge himself of his countrymen, though greatly injured by them; but if he chose, for his security, to come over to the Romans, and to get out of the way of his enemies, he should find such a reception, both in public and private, as was suitable to his virtue and the dignity of Rome." Appius considered this proposal with great attention, and the necessity of his affairs prevailed with him to accept of it. He, therefore, persuaded his friends, and they influenced many others, so that five thousand men of the most peaceable disposition of any among the Sabines, with their families, removed with him to Rome. Publicola, who was prepared for it, received them in the most friendly and hospitable manner, admitted them to the freedom of the city, and gave them two acres of land a-piece, by the river Anio. To Appius he gave twenty-five acres, and a seat in the senate. This laid the foundation of his greatness in the republic, and he used the advantage with so much prudence, as to rise to the first rank in power and authority. The Claudian family *, descended from him, is as illustrious as any in Rome.

Though the disputes among the Sabines were decided by this migration, the demagogues would not suffer them to rest; representing it as a matter of great disgrace, if Appius, now a deserter and an enemy, should be able to obstruct their taking vengeance of the Romans, when he could not prevent it by his presence. They advanced, therefore, with a great army, and encamped near Fidenæ. Having ordered two thousand men to lie in ambush in the shrubby and hollow places before Rome, they appointed a few horse at day-break to ravage the country up to the very gates, and then to retreat, till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade. But Publicola getting information that very day of these particulars from deserters, prepared himself accordingly, and made a disposition of his forces. Posthumius Balbus his son-in-law, went out with three thousand men, as it began to grow dark, and having taken

* There were two families of the *Claudii* in Rome; one patrician and the other plebeian. The first had the surname of *Pulcher*, and the other of *Marcellus*. In course of time the patrician family produced twenty-three consuls, five dictators, and seven censors, and obtained two triumphs and two ovations. The emperor Tiberius was descended of this family.

taken poſſeſſion of the ſummits of the hills under which the Sabines had concealed themſelves, watched his opportunity. His colleague Lucretius with the lighteſt and moſt active of the Romans, was appointed to attack the Sabine cavalry, as they were driving off the cattle, while himſelf, with the reſt of the forces, took a large compaſs, and incloſed the enemy's rear. The morning happened to be very foggy, when Poſthumius, at dawn, with loud ſhouts, fell upon the ambuſcade from the heights, Lucretius charged the horſe in their retreat, and Publicola attacked the enemy's camp. The Sabines were every where worſted and put to the rout. As the Romans met not with the leaſt reſiſtance, the ſlaughter was prodigious. It is clear that the vain confidence of the Sabines was the principal cauſe of their ruin. While one part thought the other was ſafe, they did not ſtand upon their defence; thoſe in the camp ran towards the corps that was placed in ambuſcade, while they, in their turn, endeavoured to regain the camp. Thus they fell in with each other in great diſorder, and in mutual want of that aſſiſtance which neither was able to give. The Sabines would have been entirely cut off, had not the city of Fidenæ been ſo near, which proved an aſylum to ſome, particularly thoſe that fled when the camp was taken. Such as did not take refuge there, were either deſtroyed or taken priſoners.

The Romans, though accuſtomed to aſcribe every great event to the interpoſition of the gods, gave the credit of this victory ſolely to the general; and the firſt thing the ſoldiers were heard to ſay, was, that Publicola had put the enemy in their hands, lame, blind, and almoſt bound, for the ſlaughter. The people were enriched with the plunder and the ſale of priſoners. As for Publicola, he was honoured with a triumph; and having ſurrendered the adminiſtration to the ſucceeding conſuls, he died ſoon after; thus finiſhing his life in circumſtances eſteemed the happieſt and moſt glorious that man can attain to *. The people, as if they had done nothing to requite his merit in his life time, decreed that his funeral ſhould

* He was the moſt virtuous citizen, one of the greateſt generals, and the moſt popular conſul Rome ever had. As he had taken more care to tranſmit his virtues to his poſterity, than to enrich them; and as, notwithſtanding the frugality of his life, and the great offices he had borne, there was not found money enough in his houſe to defray

ſhould be ſolemnized at the public charge; and to make it the more honourable, every one contributed a piece of money called *Quadrans*. Beſides, the women, out of particular regard to his memory, continued the mourning for him a whole year. By an order of the citizens, his body was likewiſe interred within the city, near the place called *Velia*, and all his family were to have a burying-place there. At preſent, indeed, none of his deſcendants are interred in that ground: they only carry the corpſe and ſet it down there, when one of the attendants puts a lighted torch under it, which he immediately takes back again. Thus they claim by that act the right, but wave the privilege; for the body is taken away, and interred without the walls.

SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

COMPARED.

THERE is ſomething ſingular in this parallel, and what has not occurred to us in any other of the lives we have written, that Publicola ſhould exemplify the maxims of Solon, and that Solon ſhould proclaim beforehand the happineſs of Publicola. For the definition of happineſs which Solon gave Crœſus, is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. It is true, he pronounces Tellus happy, on account of his virtue, his valuable children, and glorious death; yet he mentions him not in his poems as eminently diſtinguiſhed by his virtue, his children, or his employments. For Publicola, in his life-time, attained the higheſt reputation and authority among Romans, by means of his virtues; and, after his death, his family was reckoned among the moſt honourable; the houſes of the Publicolæ, the Meſſalæ, and Valerii *, illuſtrious for the ſpace of ſix hundred years †, ſtill acknowledging

fray the charges of his funeral, he was buried at the expence of the public. His poverty is a circumſtance which Plutarch ſhould have mentioned, becauſe a funeral at the public charge was an honour ſometimes paid to the rich.

* That is *the other* Valerii, viz. the *Maximi*, the *Corvini*, the *Potiti*, the *Lævini*, and the *Flacci*.

† It appears from this paſſage that Plutarch wrote this life about the beginning of Trajan's reign.

knowledging him as the fountain of their honour. Tellus, like a brave man, keeping his post, and fighting to the last, fell by the enemy's hand; whereas Publicola, after having slain his enemies, (a much happier circumstance than to be slain by them) after seeing his country victorious, through his conduct as consul and as general, after triumphs and all other marks of honour, died that death which Solon had so passionately wished for, and declared so happy. Solon, again, in his answer to Mimnermus, cencerning the period of human life, thus exclaims:

> Let friendship's faithful heart attend my bier,
> Heave the sad sigh, and drop the pitying tear!

And Publicola had this felicity. For he was lamented, not only by his friends and relations, but by the whole city; thousands attended his funeral with tears, with regret, with the deepest sorrow; and the Roman matrons mourned for him, as for the loss of a son, a brother or a common parent.

Another wish of Solon's is thus expressed:

> The flow of riches, though desir'd,
> Life's real goods, if well acquir'd,
> Unjustly let me never gain,
> Lest vengeance follow in their train.

And Publicola not only acquired, but employed his riches honourably, for he was a generous benefactor to the poor: so that if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the happiest of human kind. What the former had wished for as the greatest and most desirable of blessings, the latter actually possessed, and continued to enjoy.

Thus Solon did honour to Publicola, and he to Solon in his turn. For he considered him as the most excellent pattern

* Cicero thought this wish of Solon's unsuitable to so wise a man, and preferred to it that of the poet Ennius, who pleasing himself with the thought of an immortality on earth as a poet, desired to die unlamented. Cicero rejoiced in the same prospect as an orator. The passion for immortality is, indeed, a natural one; but as the chief part of our happiness consists in the exercise of the benevolent affections, in giving and receiving sincere testimonies of regard, the undoubted expressions of that regard must soothe the pains of a dying man, and comfort him with the reflection, that he has not been wanting in the offices of humanity.

pattern that could be propofed, in regulating a democracy; and, like him, laying afide the pride of power, he rendered it gentle and acceptable to all. He alfo made ufe of feveral of Solon's laws; for he impowered the people to elect their own magiftrates, and left an appeal to them from the fentence of other courts, as the Athenian lawgiver had done. He did not, indeed, with Solon, create a new fenate *, but he almoft doubled the number of that which he found in being.

His reafon for appointing *quæftors* or *treafurers* was, that if the conful was a worthy man he might have leifure to attend to greater affairs; if unworthy, that he might not have greater opportunities of injuftice, when both the government and treafury were under his direction.

Publicola's averfion to tyrants was ftronger than that of Solon. For, the latter made every attempt to fet up arbitrary power punifhable by law; but the former made it death without the formality of trial. Solon, indeed, juftly and reafonably plumes himfelf upon refufing abfolute power, when both the ftate of affairs and the inclinations of the people would have readily admitted it: and yet it was no lefs glorious for Publicola, when, finding the confular authority too defpotic, he rendered it milder and more popular, and did not ftretch it fo far as he might have done. That this was the beft method of governing, Solon feems to have been fenfible before him, when he fays of a republic,

> The reins nor ftrictly nor too loofely hold,
> And fafe the car of flippery power you guide.

But the annulling of debts was peculiar to Solon, and was indeed the moft effectual way to suppport the liberty of the people. For laws intended to eftablifh an equality would be of no avail, while the poor were deprived of the benefit of that equality by their debts. Where they feemed

* By βȣλη, we apprehend that Plutarch here rather means the fenate or council of *four hundred*, than the council of *Areopagus*. The *four hundred* had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be propofed to the general affembly till digefted by them; fo that, as far he was able, he provided againft a thirft of arbitrary power in the rich, and a defire of licentious freedom in the commons; the Areopagus being a check upon the former, as the fenate was a curb upon the latter.

ſeemed moſt to exerciſe their liberty, in offices, in debates, and in deciding cauſes, there they were moſt enſlaved to the rich, and entirely under their controul. What is more conſiderable in this caſe is, that, though the cancelling of debts generally produces ſeditions, Solon ſeaſonably applied it, as a ſtrong, though hazardous medicine, to remove the ſedition then exiſting. The meaſure, too, loſt its infamous and obnoxious nature, when made uſe of by a man of Solon's probity and character.

If we conſider the whole adminiſtration of each, Solon's was more illuſtrious at firſt. He was an original, and followed no example; beſides, by himſelf, without a colleague, he effected many great things for the public advantage. But Publicola's fortune was more to be admired at laſt. For Solon lived to ſee his own eſtabliſhment overturned; whereas that of Publicola preſerved the ſtate in good order to the time of the civil wars. And no wonder; ſince the former, as ſoon as he had enacted his laws, left them inſcribed on tables of wood, without any one to ſupport their authority, and departed from Athens; whilſt the latter remaining at Rome, and continuing in the magiſtracy, thoroughly eſtabliſhed and ſecured the commonwealth.

Solon was ſenſible of the ambitious deſigns of Piſiſtratus, and deſirous to prevent their being put in execution; but he miſcarried in the attempt, and ſaw a tyrant ſet up. On the other hand, Publicola demoliſhed kingly power, when it had been eſtabliſhed for ſome ages, and was at a formidable height. He was equalled by Solon in virtue and patriotiſm, but he had power and good fortune to ſecond his virtue, which the other wanted.

As to warlike exploits, there is a conſiderable difference; for Daïmachus *Platæenſis* does not even attribute that enterprize againſt the Megarenſians to Solon, as we have done; whereas Publicola, in many great battles, performed the duty both of a general and a private ſoldier.

Again; if we compare their conduct in civil affairs, we ſhall find that Solon, only acting a part, as it were, and under the form of a maniac, went out to ſpeak concerning the recovery of Salamis. But Publicola, in the face of the greateſt danger, roſe up againſt Tarquin,

detected the plot, prevented the escape of the vile conspirators, had them punished, and not only excluded the tyrants from the city, but cut up their hopes by the roots. If he was thus vigorous in prosecuting affairs that required spirit, resolution, and open force, he was still more successful in negociation, and the gentle arts of persuasion; for, by his address, he gained Porsena, whose power was so formidable, that he could not be quelled by dint of arms, and made him a friend to Rome.

But here, perhaps, some will object, that Solon recovered Salamis, when the Athenians had given it up; whereas Publicola surrendered lands that the Romans were in possession of. Our judgment of actions, however, should be formed according to the respective times and posture of affairs. An able politician, to manage all for the best, varies his conduct as the present occasion requires; often quits a part, to save the whole; and, by yielding in small matters, secures considerable advantages. Thus Publicola, by giving up what the Romans had lately usurped, saved all that was really their own; and, at a time when they found it difficult to defend their city, gained for them the possession of the besiegers' camp. In effect, by referring his cause to the arbitration of the enemy, he gained his point, and, with that, all the advantages he could have proposed to himself by a victory. For Porsena put an end to the war, and left the Romans all the provision he had made for carrying it on, induced by that impression of their virtue and honour, which he had received from Publicola.

THEMISTOCLES.

THE family of Themiſtocles was too obſcure to raiſe him to diſtinction. He was the ſon of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's ſide, he is ſaid to have been illegitimate *, according to the following verſes:

> Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon my name,
> My ſon enrolls me in the liſts of fame,
> The great Themiſtocles.

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themiſtocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon but Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Halicarnaſſus as the city to which ſhe belonged. But be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth aſſembled at Cynoſarges, in the wreſtling-ring dedicated to Hercules, without the gates; which was appointed for that purpoſe, becauſe Hercules himſelf was not altogether of divine extraction, but had a mortal for his mother; Themiſtocles found means to perſuade ſome of the young noblemen to go to Cynoſarges, and take their exerciſe with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the diſtinction between the illegitimate or aliens, and the legitimate, whoſe parents were both Athenians. It is plain, however, that he was related to the houſe of the Lycomedæ †; for Simonides informs us, that when a chapel ‡ of that family in the ward of Phyle, where the myſteries of Ceres uſed to be celebrated, was burnt down by the barbarians, Themiſtocles rebuilt it, and adorned it with pictures.

It appears, that, when a boy, he was full of ſpirit and fire, quick of apprehenſion, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great ſtateſmen. His

 hours

* It was a law at Athens, that every citizen who had a foreigner, to his mother, ſhould be deemed a baſtard, though born in wedlock, and ſhould conſequently be incapable of inheriting his father's eſtate.

† The Lycomedæ were a family in Athens, who (according to Pauſanias) had the care of the ſacrifices offered to Ceres; and in that chapel which Theſeus rebuilt, initiations and other myſteries were celebrated.

‡ τελεστηριον

hours of leiſure and vacation he ſpent not, like other boys, in idleneſs and play; but he was always inventing and compoſing declamations; the ſubjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of ſome of his ſchool-fellows: So that his maſter would often ſay, "Boy, you "will be nothing common or indifferent: You will "either be a bleſſing or a curſe to the community." As for moral philoſophy, and the polite arts, he learned them but ſlowly, and with little ſatisfaction; but inſtructions in political knowledge, and the adminiſtration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years; becauſe they ſuited his genius. When, therefore, he was laughed at, long after, in company where free ſcope was given to raillery, by perſons who paſſed as more accompliſhed in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to anſwer them with ſome aſperity: "'Tis true "I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a "lute, but I know how to raiſe a ſmall and inconſiderable city to glory and greatneſs."

Steſimbrotus, indeed, informs us, that Themiſtocles ſtudied natural philoſophy, both under Anaxagoras and Meliſſus. But in this he errs againſt chronology *. For when Pericles, who was much younger than Themiſtocles, beſieged Samos, Meliſſus defended it, and Anaxagoras lived with Pericles. Thoſe ſeem to deſerve more attention who ſay, that Themiſtocles was a follower of Mneſiphilus the Phrearian; who was neither orator, nor natural philoſopher, but a profeſſor of what was then called wiſdom †, which conſiſted in a knowledge of the arts of government, and the practical part of political prudence. This was a ſect formed upon the principles of Solon ‡, and deſcending in ſucceſſion from him; but when the ſcience of government came to be mixed with forenſic arts, and

* Anaxagoras was born in the firſt year of the 70th olympiad; Themiſtocles won the battle of Salamis the firſt year of the 75th olympiad; and Meliſſus defended Samos againſt Pericles the laſt year of the 84th olympiad. Themiſtocles, therefore, could neither ſtudy under Anaxagoras, who was only twenty years old when that general gained the battle of Salamis, nor yet under Meliſſus, who did not begin to flouriſh till 36 years after that battle.

† The firſt ſages were in reality great politicians, who gave rules and precepts for the government of communities. Thales was the firſt who carried his ſpeculations into phyſics.

‡ During the ſpace of about an hundred or an hundred and twenty years.

and paſſed from action to mere words, its profeſſors, inſtead of ſages were called ſophiſts *. Themiſtocles, however, was converſant in public buſineſs, when he attended the lectures of Mneſiphilus.

In the firſt ſallies of youth, he was irregular and unſteady; as he followed his own diſpoſition, without any moral reſtraints. He lived in extremes, and thoſe extremes were often of the worſt kind †. But he ſeemed to apologize for this afterwards, when he obſerved, that *the wildeſt colts make the beſt horſes, when they come to be properly broke and managed.* The ſtories, however, which ſome tell us, of his father's diſinheriting him, and his mother's laying violent hands upon herſelf, becauſe ſhe could not bear the thoughts of her ſon's infamy, ſeem to be quite fictitious. Others, on the contrary, ſay, that his father, to diſſuade him from accepting any public employment, ſhewed him ſome old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the ſea-ſhore, juſt as the populace neglect their leaders, when they have no farther ſervice for them.

Themiſtocles had an early and violent inclination for public buſineſs, and was ſo ſtrongly ſmitten with the love of glory, with an ambition of the higheſt ſtation, that he involved himſelf in troubleſome quarrels with perſons of the firſt rank and influence in the ſtate, particularly with Ariſtides the ſon of Lyſimachus, who always oppoſed him. Their enmity began early, but the cauſe, as Ariſton the philoſopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Pteſileus of Teos. After this, their diſputes continued about public affairs; and the diſſimilarity of their lives and manners naturally added to it. Ariſtides was of

* The Sophiſts were rather rhetoricians than philoſophers ſkilled in words, but ſuperficial in knowledge, as Diogenes Laertius informs us. Protagoras, who flouriſhed about the 84th olympiad, a little before the birth of Plato, was the firſt who had the appellation of *Sophiſt.* But Socrates, who was more converſant in morality than in politics, phyſics, or rhetoric, and who was deſirous to improve the world rather in practice than in theory, modeſtly took the name of *Philoſophos*, i. e. *a lover of wiſdom*, and not that of *Sophos*, i. e. *a ſage* or *wiſe man*.

† Idomeneus ſays, that one morning Themiſtocles harneſſed four naked courtezans in a chariot, and made them draw him acroſs the Ceramicus in the ſight of all the people, who were there aſſembled; and that at a time when the Athenians were perfect ſtrangers to debauchery, either in wine or women. But if that vice was then ſo little known in Athens, how could there be found four proſtitutes impudent enough to be expoſed in that manner?

of a mild temper and of great probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible juſtice, not with a view to ingratiate himſelf with the people, or to promote his own glory, but ſolely for the advantage and ſafety of the ſtate. He was, therefore, neceſſarily obliged to oppoſe Themiſtocles, and to prevent his promotion, becauſe he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprizes, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themiſtocles was ſo carried away with the love of glory, ſo immoderately deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by ſome great action, that, though he was very young, when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalſhip of Miltiades was every where extolled, yet even then he was obſerved to keep much alone, to be very penſive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the uſual entertainments:— When he was aſked the reaſon by his friends, who wondered at the change, he ſaid, *The trophies of Miltiades would not ſuffer him to ſleep.* While others imagined the defeat of the Perſians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he conſidered it as the beginning of greater conflicts *; and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himſelf and the Athenians againſt thoſe conflicts, becauſe he foreſaw them at a diſtance †.

And, in the firſt place, whereas the Athenians had uſed to ſhare the revenue, of the ſilver mines of Laurium among themſelves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that they ſhould divide them in that manner no longer, but build with them a number of galleys to be employed in the war againſt the Æginetæ, who then made a conſiderable figure in Greece, and by means of their numerous navy were maſters of the ſea. By ſeaſonably ſtirring up the reſentment and emulation of his countrymen againſt theſe iſlanders ‡, he the

* He did not queſtion but Darius would at length perceive that the only way to deal with the Greeks was to attack them vigorouſly by ſea, where they could make the leaſt oppoſition.

† The two principal qualifications of a general are a quick and comprehenſive view of what is to be done upon any preſent emergency, and a happy foreſight of what is to come: Themiſtocles poſſeſſed both theſe qualifications in a great degree. With reſpect to the latter, Thucyidides gives him this elogium, επι πλειςον τȣ γενησομενȣ αριςος εικαςης.

‡ Plutarch in this place follows Herodotus. But Thucyidides is expreſs, that Themiſtocles availed himſelf of both theſe arguments, the appre-

the more easily prevailed with them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had no great apprehensions. With this money a hundred galleys, with three banks of oars, were built, which afterwards fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, and to convince them, that, though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus of good land-forces, as Plato says, he made them mariners and seamen, and brought upon himself the aspersion, of taking from his countrymen the spear and the shield, and sending them to the bench and the oar. Stesimbrotus writes, that Themistocles effected this, in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether by this proceeding he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation not proper to be indulged here. But that the Greeks owed their safety to these naval applications, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed, (to omit other proofs) Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness. For, after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians, though his land-forces remained entire; and, it seems to me, that he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit, than with any hope of his bringing Greece into subjection.

Some authors write, that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money, with a view to spend it profusely; and indeed, for his frequent sacrifices, and the splendid manner in which he entertained strangers, he had need of a large supply. Yet others, on the contrary, accuse him of meanness and attention to trifles, and say he even sold presents that were made him for his table. Nay, when he begged a colt of Philides, who was a breeder of horses, and was refused, he threatened, *he would*

apprehensions which the Athenians were under of the return of the Persians, as well as the war against the Æginetæ. Indeed he could not neglect so powerful an inducement to strengthen themselves at sea, since, according to Plato, accounts were daily brought of the formidable preparations of Darius; and, upon his death, it appeared that Xerxes inherited all his father's rancour against the Greeks.

would ſoon make a Trojan horſe of his houſe, enigmatically hinting, that he would raiſe up troubles and impeachments againſt him from ſome of his own family.

In ambition, however, he had no equal. For when he was yet young, and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practiſe at his houſe; hoping by this means to draw a great number of people thither. And when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon, in the elegance of his table, the ſplendor of his pavilions, and other expences of his train. Theſe things, however, were not agreeable to the Greeks. They looked upon them as ſuitable to a young man of a noble family; but when an obſcure perſon ſet himſelf up ſo much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy *, too, at his own expence, and gained the prize with his tragedians, at a time when thoſe entertainments were purſued with great avidity and emulation. In memory of his ſucceſs, he put up this inſcription, *Themiſtocles the Phrearian exhibited the tragedy, Phrynichus compoſed it* †, *Adimantus preſided*. This gained him popularity; and what added to it, was, his charging his memory with the names of the citizens; ſo that he readily called each by his own. He was an impartial judge, too, in the cauſes that were brought before him; and Simonides of Ceos ‡ making an unreaſonable requeſt to

* Tragedy at this time was juſt arrived at perfection; and ſo great a taſte had the Athenians for this kind of entertainment, that the principal perſons in the commonwealth could not oblige them more than by exhibiting the beſt tragedy with the moſt elegant decorations. Public prizes were appointed for thoſe that excelled in this reſpect; and it was matter of great emulation to gain them.

† Phrynichus was the diſciple of Theſpis, who was eſteemed the inventor of tragedy. He was the firſt that brought female actors upon the ſtage. His chief plays were Actæon, Alceſtis, and the Danaides. Æſchylus was his cotemporary.

‡ Simonides celebrated the battles of Marathon and Salamis in his poems; and was the author of ſeveral odes and elegies; ſome of which are ſtill extant and well known. He was much in the favour of Pauſanias king of Sparta, and of Hiero king of Sicily. Plato had ſo high an opinion of his merit, that he gave him the epithet of *divine*. He died in the firſt year of the 78th olympiad, at almoſt ninety years of age; ſo that he was very near fourſcore when he deſcribed the battle of Salamis.

to him when *archon* *, he anſwered, *Neither would you be a good poet, if you tranſgreſſed the rules of harmony; nor I a good magiſtrate, if I granted your petition contrary to law.* Another time he raillied Simonides for *his abſurdity in abuſing the Corinthians, who inhabited ſo elegant a city: and having his own picture drawn, when he had ſo ill-favoured an aſpect.*

At length, having attained to a great height of power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the baniſhment of Ariſtides by what is called the *Oſtraciſm* †.

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians conſidered who ſhould be their general; and many (we are told) thinking the commiſſion dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the ſon of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, ſollicited it, and was likely to be choſen. Themiſtocles, fearing the conſequence would be fatal to the public, if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary conſiderations to drop his pretenſions.

His behaviour is alſo commended with reſpect to the interpreter who came with the king of Perſia's ambaſſadors that were ſent to demand earth and water ‡. By a decree of the people, he put him to death, for preſuming

* The former tranſlator renders αυτȣ ϛρατηγȣντος, *when he was commander of the army*, which is indeed the ſenſe of it a little below, but not here. Plutarch uſes the word ϛρατηγος for *prætor*, which is almoſt ſynonymous to *archon*. And in this paſſage he ſo explains it himſelf, *Nor ſhould I be a good archon*, &c.

† It is not certain by whom the *Oſtraciſm* was introduced: ſome ſay, by Piſiſtratus, or rather by his ſons; others, by Cliſthenes; and others make it as ancient as the time of Theſeus. By this men, who became powerful to ſuch a degree, as to threaten the ſtate with danger, were baniſhed for ten years: and they were to quit the Athenian territories in ten days. The method of it was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or ſhell, on which he wrote the name of the perſon he would have baniſhed. This done, the magiſtrates counted the ſhells; and, if they amounted to 6000, ſorted them: and the man whoſe name was found on the greateſt number of ſhells, was of courſe exiled for ten years.

‡ This was a demand of ſubmiſſion. But Herodotus aſſures us, that Xerxes did not ſend ſuch an embaſſy to the Athenians: the ambaſſadors of his father Darius were treated with great indignity when they made that demand; for the Athenians threw them into a ditch, and told them, *There was earth and water enough.*

to make uſe of the Greek language to expreſs the demands of the barbarians. To this we may add his proceedings in the affair of Arthmius the Zelite *; who, at his motion, was declared infamous, with his children and all his poſterity, for bringing Perſian gold into Greece. But that which redounded moſt of all to his honour, was, his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the ſeveral ſtates to each other, and perſuading them to lay aſide their animoſities during the war with Perſia. In this he is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted by Chileus the Arcadian.

As ſoon as he had taken the command upon him, he endeavoured to perſuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ſhips, and to meet the barbarians at as great a diſtance from Greece as poſſible. But, many oppoſing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to cover Theſſaly, which had not as yet declared for the Perſians. When he returned without effecting any thing, the Theſſalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country, as far as Bœotia, following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his propoſal to fight the enemy at ſea, and ſent him with a fleet to guard the ſtraits of Artemiſium †.

When the fleets of the ſeveral ſtates were joined, and the majority were of opinion, that Eurybiades ſhould have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians begin the engagement; the Athenians, who had a greater number of ſhips than all the reſt united ‡, thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themiſtocles, perceiving the danger of any diſagreement at that time,

* Arthmius was of Zele, a town in Aſia Minor, but ſettled at Athens. He was not only declared infamous for bringing in Perſian gold, and endeavouring to corrupt with it ſome of the principal Athenians, but baniſhed by ſound of trumpet. *Vide* ÆSCHIN. Orat. cont. *Cteſiphon.*

† At the ſame time that the Greeks thought of defending the paſs of Thermopylæ by land, they ſent a fleet to hinder the paſſage of the Perſian navy through the ſtraits of Eubœa, which fleet rendezvouſed at Artemiſium.

‡ Herodotus tells us in the beginning of his eighth book, that the Athenians furniſhed 127 veſſels, and that the whole complement of the reſt of the Greeks amounted to no more than 151; of which twenty belonged likewiſe to the Athenians, who had lent them to the Chalcidians.

time, gave up the command to Eurybiades, and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them, that, if they behaved like men in that war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to owe her preservation, and the Athenians in particular the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were two hundred more sailing round Sciathus. He, therefore, was desirous, without loss of time, to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet; for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this, the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negociate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money, and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades. Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Architeles, captain of the *sacred galley* † who had not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw; he so incensed his countrymen against him, that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship, and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, and desired

* According to Herodotus, the affair was thus. The Eubœans, not being able to prevail with Eurybiades to remain on their coast, till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to Themistocles, and made him a present of thirty talents. He took the money; and with five talents bribed Eurybiades. Then Adiamanthus the Corinthian, being the only commander who insisted on weighing anchor; Themistocles went on board him, and told him in few words: "Adiamanthus, you shall not abandon us, "for I will give you a greater present for doing your duty than the "king of the Medes would send you for deserting the allies." Which he performed by sending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the Eubœans requested, and saved twenty-two talents for himself.

† The *sacred galley* was that which the Athenians sent every year to Delos with sacrifices for Apollo; and they pretend it was the same in which Theseus carried the tribute to Crete.

desired him to refresh himself that evening, and to satisfy his crew in the morning; otherwise, he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy. This particular is mentioned by Phanias the Lesbian.

Though the several engagements * with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive; yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendor of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have any thing dreadful in them to men that know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. These things they were taught to despise, when they came to close action and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium,

'Twas then that Athens the foundations laid
Of Liberty's fair structure.

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

Artemisium is a maritime place of Eubœa, to the north of Hestiæa. Over against it lies Olizon, in the territory that formerly was subject to Philocletes; where there is a small temple of Diana of the *East*, in the midst of a grove. The temple is encircled with pillars of white stone, which, when rubbed with the hand, has both the colour and smell of saffron. On one of the pillars are inscribed the following verses:

When on these seas the sons of Athens conquer'd
The various powers of Asia; grateful here
They rear'd this temple to Diana.

There is a place still to be seen upon this shore, where there is a large heap of sand, which, if dug into, shews towards the bottom a black dust like ashes, as if some fire had been there; and this is supposed to have been that in which the wrecks of the ships and the bodies of the dead were burnt.

The

* They came to three several engagements within three days; in the last of which, Clineas, the father of Alcibiades, performed wonders. He had, at his own expence, fitted out a ship which carried two hundred men.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium *, when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passages by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering-places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the Ionians. "Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the "Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now "risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and "put them in disorder in time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And, notwithstanding all the intreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates, to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as *they* had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the *Isthmus*, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To

† The last engagement at Thermoplyæ, wherein Xerxes forced the passes of the mountains, by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, Thespians and Thebans, who had been left to guard them, happened on the same day with the battle at Artemisium; and the news of it was brought to Themistocles by an Athenian called Abronichus. Though the action at Thermopylæ had not an immediate relation to Themistocles, yet it would have tended more to the glory of that general, if Plutarch had taken greater notice of it; since the advantage gained there by Xerxes, opened Greece to him, and rendered him much more formidable. Thermopylæ is well known to be a narrow pass in the mountains near the Euripus.

To quit the city, and embark on board their ſhips, was the only expedient at preſent; and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of ſafety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their anceſtors.

Themiſtocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reaſon prevail with the multitude*, ſet his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourſe to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himſelf of, was, the diſappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the prieſts finding the daily offerings ſet before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the ſuggeſtion of Themiſtocles, that the goddeſs had forſaken the city, and that ſhe offered to conduct them to ſea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received†, he told them, that, by *wooden walls*, there could not poſſibly be any thing meant but ſhips; and that Apollo, now calling Salamis *divine*, not *wretched* and *unfortunate*, as formerly, ſignified by ſuch an epithet, that it would be productive of ſome great advantage to Greece. His councils prevailed, and he propoſed a decree, that the city ſhould be left to the protection of Minerva‡, the tutelary goddeſs of the Athenians; that the young men ſhould

* He prevailed ſo effectually at laſt, that the Athenians ſtoned Cyrſilus, an orator, who vehemently oppoſed him, and urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and the affection to wives and helpleſs infants The women too, to ſhew how far they were from deſiring that the cauſe of Greece ſhould ſuffer for them, ſtoned his wife.

† This was the ſecond oracle, which the Athenian deputies received from Ariſtonice prieſteſs of Apollo. Many were of opinion, that, by the walls of wood which ſhe adviſed them to have recourſe to, was meant the citadel, becauſe it was paliſaded; but others thought it could intend nothing but ſhips. The maintainers of the former opinion urged againſt ſuch as ſupported the latter, that the laſt line but one of the oracle, Ω θειη Σαλαμις, απολεις δε συ τεκνα γυναικων, was directly againſt him, and that, without queſtion, it portended the deſtruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themiſtocles alleged in anſwer, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the deſtruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in the oracle were ſtyled the ſons of women, it could mean no other than the Perſians, who were ſcandalouſly effeminate. HERODOT. L. vii. c. 143, 144.

‡ But how was this, when he had before told the people that Minerva had forſaken the city!

ſhould go on board the ſhips; and that every one ſhould provide as well as he poſſibly could for the ſafety of the children, the women, and the ſlaves.

When this decree was made, moſt of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene*, where they were received with a generous hoſpitality. The Trœzenians came to a reſolution to maintain them at the public expence, for which purpoſe they allowed each of them two *oboli* a day; they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleaſed, and provided for their education by paying their tutors. This order was procured by Nicagoras.

As the treaſury of Athens was then but low, Ariſtotle informs us that the court of *Areopagus* diſtributed to every man who took part in the expedition eight *drachmas*; which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But Clidemus aſcribes this alſo to a ſtratagem of Themiſtocles; for he tells us, that, when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the *Ægis* was loſt from the ſtatue of Minerva; and Themiſtocles, as he ranſacked every thing, under pretence of ſearching for it, found large ſums of money hid among the baggage, which he applied to the public uſe; and out of it all neceſſaries were provided for the fleet.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting ſcence. What pity! what admiration of the firmneſs of thoſe men, who, ſending their parents and families to a diſtant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the diſtreſs, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, becauſe of their extreme old age†. And ſome emotions of tenderneſs were due even to the tame domeſtic animals, which, running to the ſhore, with lamentable howlings, expreſſed their affection and regret for the perſons that had fed them. One of theſe, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is ſaid to have leapt into the ſea, and to have ſwam by the ſide of the ſhip, till it

 reached

* Theſeus, the great hero in Athenian ſtory, was originally of Trœzene.

† In this deſcription we find ſtrong traces of Plutarch's humanity and good-nature.

reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately. And they shew us to this day, a place called *Cynos Sema*, where they tell us that dog was buried.

To these great actions of Themistocles may be added the following. He perceived that Aristides was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive, that out of revenge, he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he, therefore, caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a time, should have leave to return, and by their counsel and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger*, he proposed to set sail for the *Isthmus*, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said†, "Do not you know, Themistocles, that, in the public games, such as rise up before their turn, are chastised for it?" "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff, as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "Strike, if you please, but hear me:" The Lacedæmonians admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say: and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him, "It ill becomes you who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus; "Wretch, that thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing, for the sake of those inanimate things, to become

* It does not appear that Eurybiades wanted courage. After Xerxes had gained the pass of Thermopylæ, it was the general opinion of the chief officers of the confederate fleet assembled in council, (except those of Athens) that their only resourse was to build a strong wall across the Isthmus, and to defend Peloponnesus against the Persians. Besides, the Lacedæmonians, who were impartial judges of men and things, gave the palm of valour to Eurybiades, and that of prudence to Themistocles.

† Herodotus says, this conversation passed between Adiamanthus, general of the Corinthians, and Themistocles; but Plutarch relates it with more probability of Eurybiades, who was commander in chief.

"come ſlaves; yet we have ſtill the moſt reſpectable city "of Greece, in theſe two hundred ſhips, which are here "ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But "if you forſake and betray us a ſecond time, Greece "ſhall ſoon find the Athenians poſſeſſed of as free a city*, "and as valuable a country as that which they have "quitted." Theſe words ſtruck Eurybiades with the apprehenſion that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told alſo, that, as a certain Eretrian was attempting to ſpeak, Themiſtocles ſaid, "What! have you, "too, ſomething to ſay about war, who are like the fiſh "that has a ſword, but no heart."

While Themiſtocles was thus maintaining his argument upon deck, ſome tell us an owl was ſeen flying to the right of the fleet†, which came and perched upon the ſhrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a ſea-fight. But no ſooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coaſts, while Xerxes himſelf was ſeen marching his land-forces to the ſhore, than the Greeks, ſtruck with the ſight of ſuch prodigious armaments, began to forget the counſel of Themiſtocles, and the Peloponneſians once more looked towards the *Iſthmus*. Nay, they reſolved to ſet ſail that very night, and ſuch orders were given to all the pilots. Themiſtocles greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their ſtation in the ſtraits‡, and to retire to their reſpective countries, contrived that ſtratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Perſian extraction‖, and a captive, but much attached to

* The addreſs of Themiſtocles is very much to be admired. If Eurybiades was really induced by his fears to return to the Iſthmus, the Athenian took a right method to remove thoſe fears by ſuggeſting greater; for what other free country could he intimate that the people of Athens would acquire, but that when driven from their own city, in their diſtreſs and deſpair, they might ſeize the ſtate of Sparta?

† The owl was ſacred to Minerva the protectreſs of the Athenians.

‡ If the confederates had quitted the ſtraits of Salamis, where they could equal the Perſians in the line of battle, ſuch of the Athenians as were in that iſland muſt have become an eaſy prey to the enemy; and the Perſians would have found an open ſea on the Peloponneſian coaſt, where they could act with all their force againſt the ſhips of the allies.

‖ Probably it was from an erroneous reading of a paſſage in Herodotus, viz. πεμπει εις το ϛρατοπεδον, των Μηδων ανδρα, πλοιω, inſtead of

to Themiſtocles, and the tutor of his children. On this occaſion Themiſtocles ſent him privately to the king of Perſia, with orders to tell him, that the commander of the Athenians, having eſpouſed his intereſt, was the firſt to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to ſuffer them to eſcape; but while they were in this confuſion, and at a diſtance from their land forces, to attack and deſtroy their whole navy.

Xerxes took this information kindly, ſuppoſing it to proceed from friendſhip, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ſhips, to ſurround all the paſſages, and to incloſe the iſlands, that none of the Greeks might eſcape, and then to follow with the reſt of the ſhips at their leiſure. Ariſtides, the ſon of Lyſimachus, was the firſt that perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendſhip with Themiſtocles, but had been baniſhed by his means, (as has been related), he went to him, and told him they were ſurrounded by the enemy *. Themiſtocles knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and intreated him to lend his aſſiſtance to keep the Greeks in their ſtation; and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to perſuade them to come to an engagement in the ſtraits. Ariſtides approved the proceedings of Themiſtocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Paraetius, came over from the enemy to bring the ſame account; ſo that indignation, added to neceſſity, excited the Greeks to their combat †.

As

of το Μηδων, that Plutarch calls Sicinus a Perſian. Æſchylus, however, who was in this action, ſpeaking of Sicinus, ſays, *A certain Greek from the army of the Athenians told Xerxes, &c.*

* Ariſtides was not then in the confederate fleet, but in the iſle of Ægina, from whence he ſailed by night, with great hazard through the Perſian fleet, to carry this intelligence.

† The different conduct of the Spartans and the Athenians on this occaſion ſeems to ſhew how much ſuperior the accommodating laws of Solon were to the auſtere diſcipline of Lycurgus. Indeed, while the inſtitutions of the latter remained in force, the Lacedæmonians were the greateſt of all people.—But that was impoſſible. The ſeverity of Lycurgus's legiſlation naturally tended to deſtroy it.—Nor was this all

As ſoon as it was day, Xerxes ſat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. He placed himſelf, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the iſle of Salamis is ſeparated from Attica by a narrow frith; but, according to Aceſtodorus, on the confines of Megara, upon a ſpot called *Kerata, the horns*. He was ſeated on a throne of gold*, and had many ſecretaries about him, whoſe buſineſs it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the mean time, as Themiſtocles was ſacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired, and ſet off with golden ornaments. They were ſaid to be the ſons of Autarctus and Sandace, ſiſter to Xerxes. Euphrantide, the ſoothſayer, caſting his eye upon them, and at the ſame time obſerving that a bright flame blazed out from the victims†, while a ſneezing was heard from the right, took Themiſtocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths ſhould be conſecrated and ſacrificed to Bacchus *Omeſtes*‡; for by this means the Greeks might be aſſured not only of ſafety, but victory.

Themiſtocles was aſtoniſhed at the ſtrangeneſs and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who, in great and preſſing difficulties, truſt rather to abſurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice, and leading the captives to the altar, inſiſted upon their being offered up, as the ſoothſayer had directed. This particular

all.—From the extremes of abſtemious hardſhips, the next ſtep was not to a moderate enjoyment of life, but to all the licentiouſneſs of the moſt effeminate luxury. The laws of Lycurgus made men of the Spartan women; when they were broken, they made women of the men.

* This throne, or ſeat, whether of gold or ſilver, or both, was taken and carried to Athens, where it was conſecrated in the temple of Minerva, with the golden ſabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Platæa. Demoſthenes calls it διφρον αργυροποδα, *a chair with ſilver feet*.

† A bright flame was always conſidered as a fortunate omen, whether it were a real one iſſuing from an altar, or a ſeeming one, (what we call ſhell-fire) from the head of a living perſon. Virgil mentions one of the latter ſort, which appeared about the head of Julus and Florus, another that was ſeen about the head of Servius Tullius. A ſneezing on the right hand, too, was deemed a lucky omen both by the Greeks and Latins.

‡ In the ſame manner Chios, Tenedos, and Leſbos, offered human ſacrifices to Bacchus ſurnamed Omodius. But this is the ſole inſtance we know of among the Athenians.

cular we have from Phanias the Lesbian, a man not unversed in letters and philosophy.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*, as a matter he was well assured of.

> A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
> The Persian flag obey'd: two hundred more
> And seven, o'erspread the seas.

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it; for he would not engage the enemy, till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy; for it caused them to veer in such a manner, that their sides were exposed to the Greeks who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute, great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts and shot forth arrows as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the *Decelean*, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen beaks; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia * knew the body amongst others

* Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled; which Xerxes observing, cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive. This princess must not be confounded with that Artemisia, who was the wife of Mausolus king of Caria.

others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging, we are told a great light appeared as from Eleusis; and loud sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession *. A cloud, too, seemed to rise from among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees, till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also, and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw, stretching out their hands from Ægina before the Grecian fleet. These they conjectured to be the *Æacidæ* †, to whom, before the battle, they had addressed their prayers for succour.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian, named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the *laurelled* Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval achievement either of the Greeks or barbarians ever was more glorious. This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles ‡.

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent, by a mole so well secured, that his land-forces might pass over it into the island, and that he might shut up

* Herodotus says, these voices were heard, and this vision seen, some days before the battle, while the Persian land forces were ravaging the territories of Attica. Dicæus, an Athenian exile, (who hoped thereby to procure a mitigation of his country's fate) was the first that observed the thing, and carried an account of it to Xerxes.

† A vessel had been sent to Ægina to implore the assistance of Æcus and his descendants. Æcus was the son of Jupiter, and had been king of Ægina. He was so remarkable for his justice, that his prayers, whilst he lived, are said to have procured great advantages to the Greeks; and, after his death, it was believed that he was appointed one of the three judges in the infernal regions.

‡ In this battle, which was one of the most memorable we find in history, the Grecians lost forty ships, and the Persians two hundred, beside a great many more that were taken.

up the paſs entirely againſt the Greeks. At the ſame time, Themiſtocles, to ſound Ariſtides, pretended it was his own opinion that they ſhould ſail to the Helleſpont, and break down the bridge of ſhips; "For ſo," ſays he, "we may take Aſia, without ſtirring out of Europe." Ariſtides * did not in the leaſt reliſh his propoſal, but anſwered him to this purpoſe: "Till now we have had "to do with an enemy immerſed in luxury; but if we "ſhut him up in Greece, and drive him to neceſſity, "he who is maſter of ſuch prodigious forces, will no "longer ſit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet ſpec-"tator of the proceedings of the war, but, awaked by "danger, attempting every thing, and preſent every "where, he will correct his paſt errors, and follow coun-"ſels better calculated for ſucceſs. Inſtead, therefore, "of breaking that bridge, we ſhould, if poſſible, pro-"vide another, that he may retire the ſooner out of "Europe." "If that is the caſe, ſaid Themiſtocles, "we muſt all conſider and contrive how to put him upon "the moſt ſpeedy retreat out of Greece."

This being reſolved upon, he ſent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the priſoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, ſince "their victory at ſea, were determined to ſail to the "Helleſpont, and deſtroy the bridge; but that The-"miſtocles, in care for the king's ſafety, adviſed him to "haſten towards his own ſeas, and paſs over into Aſia, "while his friend endeavoured to find out pretences of "delay, to prevent the confederates from purſuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greateſt precipitation †. How prudent the management of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when, with a ſmall part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks

* According to Herodotus, it was not Ariſtides, but Eurybiades, who made this reply to Themiſtocles.

† Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Greece with an army of three hundred thouſand men, marched with the reſt towards Thrace, in order to croſs the Helleſpont. As no proviſions had been prepared before hand, his army underwent great hardſhips, during the whole time of his march, which laſted five-and-forty days. The king, finding they were not in a condition to purſue their route ſo expeditiouſly as he deſired, advanced with a ſmall retinue; but, when he arrived at the Helleſpont, he found his bridge of boats broken down by the violence of the ſtorms, and was reduced to the neceſſity of croſſing over in a fiſhing-boat. From the Helleſpont he continued his flight to Sardis.

Greeks in extreme danger of losing all, in the battle of Platææ.

Herodotus tells us, that, among the cities, Ægina bore away the palm; but, among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most. For, when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar *, to inscribe upon it the names of those that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games, too, we are told, that, as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends, that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

Indeed, he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings.

For, when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not despatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs to the day he was to embark, that having a great deal to do, he might appear with the greater dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, *Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles.*

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he said, *Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time, though a little too late.*

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour "or sincere respect; but when a storm arose, or danger "appeared,

* The altar of Neptune. This solemnity was designed to make them give their judgment impartially, as in the presence of the gods.

"appeared, they ſheltered themſelves under him, as un-
"der a plane-tree, which, when the weather was fair
"again, they would rob of its leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not ſo much "honoured for his own ſake, but for his country's." "True," anſwered Themiſtocles; "for neither ſhould "I have been greatly diſtinguiſhed if I had been of Se-"riphus, nor you, if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer, who thought he had done the ſtate ſome ſervice, ſetting himſelf up againſt Themiſtocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he anſwered him with this fable "There once happened a "diſpute between the *feaſt-day* and the *day after the feaſt:* "Says the *day after the feaſt*, I am full of buſtle and "trouble, whereas, with you, folks enjoy, at their eaſe, "every thing ready provided. You ſay right, ſays the "*feaſt-day*, but if I had not been before you, you would "not have been at all. *So, had it not been for me, then,* "*where would you have been now*?*"

His ſon being maſter of his mother, and by her means of him, he ſaid, laughing, "This child is greater than "any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the "Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother com-"mands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in every thing, when he happened to ſell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, *that it had a good neighbour*.

Two citizens courting his daughter he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and aſſigned this reaſon, *He had rather ſhe ſhould have a man without money, than money without a man.* Such was the pointed manner in which he often expreſſed himſelf†.

After the greateſt actions we have related, his next enterpriſe was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens.—Theopompus tells, he bribed the Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, that they might not oppoſe it; but moſt hiſtorians ſay, he over-reached them. He was ſent, it ſeems, on pretence of

* There is the genuine Attic ſalt in moſt of theſe retorts and obſervations of Themiſtocles. His wit ſeems to have been equal to his military and political capacity.

† Cicero has preſerved another of his ſayings, which deſerves mentioning. When Simonides offered to teach Themiſtocles the art of memory, he anſwered, *Ah! rather teach me the art of forgetting; for I often remember what I would not, and cannot forget what I would.*

of an embaſſy to Sparta. The Spartans complained, that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpoſe, ſupported the accuſation. But Themiſtocles abſolutely denied it, and challenged them to ſend proper perſons to Athens to inſpect the walls; at once gaining time for finiſhing them, and contriving to have hoſtages at Athens for his return. The event anſwered his expectation. For the Lacedæmonians, when aſſured how the fact ſtood, diſſembled their reſentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus, (having obſerved the conveniency of that harbour. By which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this reſpect his politics were very different from thoſe of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, uſed their endeavours to draw the attention of their ſubjects from the buſineſs of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground: and to this purpoſe they publiſhed the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune, for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive-tree before the judges, gained her cauſe. Themiſtocles did not bring the Piræus into the city, as Ariſtophanes the comic poet would have it; but he joined the city by a line of communication to the Piræus, and the land to the ſea. This meaſure ſtrengthened the people againſt the nobility, and made them bolder and more untractable, as power came with wealth into the hands of maſters of ſhips, mariners, and pilots. Hence it was, that the oratory in *Pnyx*, which was built to front the ſea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants towards the land *; for they believed a maritime power inclinable to a democracy, whereas perſons employed in agriculture would be leſs uneaſy under an oligarcy.

Themiſtocles had ſomething ſtill greater in view for ſtrengthening the Athenians by ſea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagaſæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full aſſembly, " That he had hit upon a deſign which might " greatly contribute to their advantage, but it was not fit " to

* The thirty tyrants were eſtabliſhed at Athens by Lyſander, 403 years before the Chriſtian æra, and 77 years after the battle of Salamis.

"to be communicated to their whole body." The Athenians ordered him to communicate it to Ariſtides only *, and, if he approved of it, to put it in execution. Themiſtocles then informed him, "That he had thoughts "of burning the confederate fleet at Pagaſæ." Upon which, Ariſtides went and declared to the people, "That the enterpriſe which Themiſtocles propoſed, "was indeed the moſt advantageous in the world, but, "at the ſame time, the moſt unjuſt." The Athenians, therefore, commanded him to lay aſide all thoughts of it †.

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the aſſembly of the *Amphictyons*, to exclude from that council all thoſe ſtates that had not joined in the confederacy againſt the king of Perſia. But Themiſtocles was apprehenſive, that, if the Theſſalians, the Argives, and Thebans, were expelled from the council, the Lacedæmonians would have a great majority of voices, and conſequently procure what decrees they pleaſed. He ſpoke, therefore, in defence of thoſe ſtates, and brought the deputies off from that deſign, by repreſenting, that thirty-one cities only had their ſhare of the burden of that war, and that the greateſt part of theſe were but of ſmall conſideration; that conſequently it would be both unreaſonable and dangerous to exclude the reſt of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be dictated to by two or three great cities. By this he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, who, for this reaſon, ſet up Cimon againſt him as a rival in all affairs of ſtate, and uſed all their intereſt for his advancement.

He diſobliged the allies, alſo, by ſailing round the iſlands, and extorting money from them; as we may conclude from the anſwer which Herodotus tells us the Adrians

* How glorious this teſtimony of the public regard to Ariſtides, from a people then ſo free, and withal ſo virtuous!

† It is hardly poſſible for the military and political genius of Themiſtocles to ſave him from contempt and deteſtation, when we arrive at this part of his conduct.——A ſerious propoſal to burn the confederate fleet!——That fleet, whoſe united efforts had ſaved Greece from deſtruction!—which had fought under his auſpices with ſuch irreſiſtible valour!—That ſacred fleet, the minuteſt parts of which ſhould have been religiouſly preſerved, or if conſumed, conſumed only on the altars, and in the ſervice of the gods!—How diabolical is that policy, which, in its way to power, tramples on humanity, juſtice, and gratitude!

Andrians gave him to a demand of that ſort. He told them, "He brought two gods along with him, *Perſuaſion* and *Force*." They replied, "They had alſo two great gods on their ſide, *Poverty* and *Deſpair*, who forbad them to ſatisfy him." Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, writes with great bitterneſs againſt Themiſtocles, and charges him with betraying him, though his friend and hoſt, for money, while, for the like paltry conſideration, he procured the return of other exiles. So in theſe verſes:

Pauſanius you may praiſe, and you Xantippus,
And you Leutychidas: But ſure the hero,
Who bears th' Athenian palm, is Ariſtides.
What is the falſe, the vain, Themiſtocles?
The very light is grudg'd him by Latona,
Who for vile pelf betray'd Timocreon,
His friend and hoſt; nor gave him to behold
His dear Jalyſus. For three talents more
He ſail'd and left him on a foreign coaſt.
What fatal end awaits the man that kills,
That baniſhes, that ſets the villain up,
To fill his glitt'ring ſtores? while oſtentation,
With vain airs, fain would boaſt the generous hand,
And, at the Iſthmus, ſpreads a public board
For crowds that eat, and curſe him at the banquet.

But Timocreon gave a ſtill looſer rein to his abuſe of Themiſtocles, after the condemnation and baniſhment of that great man, in a poem which begins thus:

Muſe, crown'd with glory, bear this faithful ſtrain,
Far as the Grecian name extends.——

Timocreon is ſaid to have been baniſhed by Themiſtocles, for favouring the Perſians. When, therefore, Themiſtocles was accuſed of the ſame traitorous inclinations, he wrote againſt him as follows:

Timocreon's honour to the Medes is ſold,
But yet not his alone: Another fox
Finds the ſame fields to prey in.

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies againſt him, he was often forced to recount his own ſervices, which rendered him ſtill more inſupportable; and when they expreſſed their diſpleaſure, he ſaid, *Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the ſame hand?*

Another offence he gave the people, was, his building a temple to Diana, under the name of *Aristobule*, or, Diana *of the best counsel*, intimating that he had given the best counsel, not only to Athens, but to all Greece. He built this temple near his own house, in the quarter of Melita, where now the executioners cast out the bodies of those that have suffered death, and where they throw the halters and clothes of such as have been strangled or otherwise put to death. There was, even in our times, a statue of Themistocles in this temple of Diana *Aristobule*, from which it appeared that his aspect was as horoic as his soul.

At last, the Athenians unable any longer to bear that high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the *ostrocism*; and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burthen to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires; for the *ostracism*, or *ten years banishment*, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos*, the affair of Pausanias gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person that accused him of treason, was Leobotes the son of Alcmæon, of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles, though he was his friend; but when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate his designs to him, shewing him the king of

* The great Pausanias, who had beaten the Persians in the battle of Platæa, and who, on many occasions, had behaved with great generosity as well as moderation, at last degenerated; and fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, in hopes, through their interest, to make himself sovereign of Greece. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions, he fell into the manners of the Persians, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond. The *Ephori* waited some time for clear proof of his treacherous designs, and when they had obtained it, determined to imprison him. But he fled into the temple of Minerva Chalcioicos, and they besieged him there. They walled up all the gates, and his own mother laid the first stone. When they had almost starved him to death, they laid hands on him, and by the time they had got him out of the temple, he expired.

of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks, as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected the solicitations of Pausanias, and refused to have the least share in his designs; but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor let the secret transpire; whether he thought he would desist of himself, or that he would be discovered some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise without any rational hopes of success.

However, when Pansauias was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which caused no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him; and those of his fellow-citizens that envied him, insisted on the charge. He could not defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians, "That he who was born to "command, and incapable of servitude, could never sell "himself, and Greece along with him, to enemies and "barbarians." The people, however, listened to his accusers, and sent him with orders to bring him to his answer before the states of Greece. Of this he had timely notice, and passed over to the isle of Corcyra. The inhabitants of which had great obligations to him; for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians* to pay down twenty talents, and the isle of Leucas to be in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. From thence he fled to Epirus; and, finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, in imploring the protection of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles in the time of his prosperity and influence in the state, the king entertained a deep resent-

 ment

* The scholiast upon Thucydides tells us, Themistocles served the people of Corcyra in an affair of greater importance. The states of Greece were inclined to make war upon that island for not joining in the league against Xerxes; but Themistocles represented, that, if they were in that manner to punish all the cities that had not acceded to the league, their proceedings would bring greater calamities upon Greece than it had suffered from the barbarians.

ment againſt him, and made no ſecret of his intention to revenge himſelf, if ever the Athenian ſhould fall into his power. However, while he was thus flying from place to place, he was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen, than of the conſequences of an old quarrel with the king; and therefore he went and put himſelf in his hands, appearing before him as a ſuppliant, in a particular and extraordinary manner*. He took the king's ſon, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the houſehold gods. This manner of offering a petition, the Moloſſians look upon as the moſt effectual, and the only one that can hardly be rejected. Some ſay the queen, whoſe name was Phthia, ſuggeſted this method of ſupplication to Themiſtocles. Others, that Admetus himſelf taught him to act the part, that he might have a ſacred obligation to allege, againſt giving him up to thoſe that might come to demand him.

At that time Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themiſtocles out of Athens, and ſent them to him; for which Cimon afterwards condemned him and put him to death. This account is given by Steſimbrotus; yet, I know not how, forgetting what he had aſſerted, or making Themiſtocles forget it, he tells us he ſailed from thence to Sicily, and demanded king Hiero's daughter in marriage, promiſing to bring the Greeks under his ſubjection; and that, upon Hiero's refuſal, he paſſed over into Aſia. But this is not probable. For Theophraſtus, in his treatiſe on monarchy, relates, that, when Hiero ſent his race-horſes to the Olympic games, and ſet up a ſuperb pavilion there, Themiſtocles harangued the Greeks, to perſuade them to pull it down, and not to ſuffer the tyrant's horſes to run. Thucydides writes, that he went by land to the Ægean ſea, and embarked at Pydna; that none in the ſhip knew him, till he was driven by ſtorm to Naxos, which was at that time beſieged by the Athenians; that, through fear of being taken, he then informed the maſter of the ſhip, and the pilot, who he was; and that partly by intreaties, partly by threatening he would declare to the Athenians, however falſely, that they knew him from the

* It was nothing particular for a ſuppliant to do homage to the houſehold gods of the perſon to whom he had a requeſt; but to do it with the kings ſon in his arms was an extraordinary circumſtance.

the first, and were bribed to take him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor and sail for Asia.

The greatest part of his treasures was privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus says, amounted to an hundred talents, Theophrastus fourscore; though he was not worth three talents before his employments in the government *.

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those that were determined to get money by any means whatever; for the king of Persia had offered by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him †. He, therefore, retired to Ægæ, a little town of the Æolians, where he was known to nobody but Nicogenes, his host, who was a man of great wealth, and had some interest at the Persian court. In his house he was concealed a few days; and, one evening after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes children, cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration,

Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine.

After this, Themistocles went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiled round his body, and creeping up to his neck; which, as soon as it touched his face, was turned into an eagle, and, covering him with its wings, took him up and carried him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble.

In consequence of this warning, he was sent away by Necogenes, who contrived this method for it. The barbarians in general, especially the Persians, are jealous of the women even to madness; not only of their wives, but

* This is totally inconsistent with that splendour in which, according to Plutarch's own account, he lived, before he had any public appointments.

† The resentment of Xerxes is not at all to be wondered at, since Themistocles had not only beaten him in the battle of Salamis, but, what was more disgraceful still, had made him a dupe to his designing persuations and representations. In the loss of victory, he had some consolation, as he was not himself the immediate cause of it, but for his ridiculous return to Asia, his anger could only fall upon himself and Themistocles.

but their ſlaves and concubines; for, beſide the care they take that they ſhall be ſeen by none but their own family, they keep them like priſoners in their houſes; and when they take a journey, they are put in a carriage cloſe covered on all ſides. In ſuch a carriage as this Themiſtocles was conveyed, the attendants being inſtructed to tell thoſe they met, if they happened to be queſtioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from Ionia to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides, and Charon of Lampſacus, relate, that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his ſon * Artaxerxes that Themiſtocles addreſſed himſelf. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and ſeveral others, write, that Xerxes himſelf was then upon the throne. The opinion of Thucydides ſeems moſt agreeable to chronology, though that is not perfectly well ſettled. Themiſtocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied firſt to Artabanus †, a military officer, and told him, "He was a Greek, who deſired to have audience of the "king about matters of great importance, which the "king himſelf had much at heart." Artabanus anſwered, "The laws of men are different; ſome eſteem "one thing honourable, and ſome another; but it be-"comes all men to honour and obſerve the cuſtoms of "their own country. With you the thing moſt admired, "is ſaid to be liberty and equality. We have many "excellent laws; and we regard it as one of the moſt "indiſpenſable, to honour the king, and to adore him "as the image of that deity who preſerves and ſupports "the univerſe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform "to our cuſtoms, and to proſtrate yourſelf before the "king, you may be permitted to ſee him and ſpeak to "him. But if you cannot bring yourſelf to this, you "muſt acquaint him with your buſineſs by a third per-"ſon. It would be an infringement of the cuſtom of "his country, for the king to admit any one to audience "that does not worſhip him." To this Themiſtocles replied. "My buſineſs, Artabanus, is to add to the "king's honour and power; therefore I will comply with "your

* Themiſtocles, therefore, arrived at the Perſian court in the firſt year of the 79th olympiad, 462 years before the birth of Chriſt; for that was the firſt year of Artaxerxes's reign

† Son of that Artabanus, captain of the guards, who ſlew Xerxes, and perſuaded Artaxerxes to cut off his elder brother Darius.

"your cuftoms, fince the god that has exalted the Perfians, will have it fo; and by my means the number of the king's worfhippers fhall be increafed. So let this be no hinderance to my communicating to the king what I have to fay." "But who," faid Artabanus, "fhall we fay you are? for by your difcourfe you appear to be no ordinary perfon." Themiftocles anfwered, "Nobody muft know that before the king himfelf." So Phanias writes; and Eratofthenes, in his treatife on riches, adds, that Themiftocles was brought acquainted with Artabanus, and recommended to him by an Eretrian woman, who belonged to that officer.

When he was introduced to the king, and, after his proftration, ftood filent, the king commanded the interpreter to afk him who he was. The interpreter accordingly put the queftion, and he anfwered, "The man that is now come to addrefs himfelf to you, O king, is Themiftocles the Athenian; an exile perfecuted by the Greeks. The Perfians have fuffered much by me, but it has been more than compenfated by my preventing your being purfued; when after I had delivered Greece, and faved my own country, I had it in my power to do you alfo a fervice. My fentiments are fuitable to my prefent misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or, if you retain any refentment, to difarm it by my fubmiffion. Reject not the teftimony my enemies have given to the fervices I have done the Perfians, and make ufe of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to fhew your generofity, than to fatisfy your revenge. If you fave me, you fave your fuppliant; If you deftroy me, you deftroy the enemy of Greece*." In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themiftocles added to this fpeech an account of the vifion he had in Nicogenes's houfe, and an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, which ordered him *to go to one who bore the fame name with the god;* from which he concluded he was fent to him, fince both were called, and really were, *great kings*.

The king gave him no anfwer, though he admired his courage and magnanimity; but, with his friends, he felicitated

* How extremely abject and contemptible is this petition, wherein the fuppliant founds every argument in his favour upon his *vices*!

felicitated himſelf upon this, as the moſt fortunate event imaginable. We are told alſo, that he prayed to *Arimanius* *, that his enemies might ever be ſo infatuated, as to drive from amongſt them their ableſt men; that he offered ſacrifice to the gods, and immediately after made a great entertainment; nay, that he was ſo affected with joy, that when he retired to reſt, in the midſt of his ſleep, he called out three times, *I have Themiſtocles the Athenian.*

As ſoon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themiſtocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards, at the firſt hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his ſeat, and a reſpectful ſilence enſued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themiſtocles paſſed him, whiſpered him with a ſigh, *Ah! thou ſubtle ſerpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee hither.* However, when he had proſtrated himſelf twice in the preſence, the king ſaluted him, and ſpoke to him graciouſly, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents; for, "as he had delivered himſelf up, it was but juſt that he "ſhould receive the reward offered to any one that "ſhould bring him." He promiſed him much more, aſſured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he had to propoſe concerning Greece. Themiſtocles replied, "That a man's diſcourſe "was like a piece of tapeſtry †, which, when ſpread "open, diſplays its figures; but when it is folded up, "they are hidden and loſt; therefore he begged time." The king, delighted with the compariſon, bade him take what time he pleaſed; and he deſired a year: in which ſpace he learned the Perſian language, ſo as to be able to converſe with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court, believed that he entertained their prince on the ſubject of the Grecian affairs; but as there were then many changes in the miniſtry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who ſuſpected that he had preſumed to ſpeak too freely of them to the king. The

* The god of darkneſs, the ſuppoſed author of plagues and calamities, was called *Abriman* or *Arimanius*.

† In this he artfully conformed to the figurative manner of ſpeaking in uſe among the eaſtern nations.

The honours that were paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced; the king took him with him a hunting, conversed familiarly with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen-mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the *Magi*.

Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that he might be carried through Sardis in royal state *, with a diadem upon his head. But Mithropaustes, the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand, and said, *Demaratus, this diadem does not carry brains along with it to cover; nor would you be* Jupiter, *though you should take hold of his thunder.* The king was highly displeased at Demaratus for making this request, and seemed determined never to forgive him; yet, at the desire of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled to him. And in the following reigns, when the affairs of Persia and Greece were more closely connected, as oft as the kings requested a favour of any Grecian captain, they are said to have promised him, in express terms, *That he should be a greater man at their court than Themistocles had been.* Nay, we are told, that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children, and said, *Children, we should have been undone, had it not been for our undoing.* Most authors agree, that he had three cities given him, for bread, wine, and meat, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus †. Neanthes of Cyzicus, and Phanias, add two more, Percote and Palæscepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

 Some

* This was the highest mark of honour which the Persian kings could give. Ahasuerus, the same with Xerxes, the father of this Artaxerxes, had not long before ordained that Mordecai should be honoured in that manner.

† The country about Magnesia was so fertile, that it brought Themistocles a revenue of fifty talents; Lampsacus had in its neighbourhood the noblest vineyards of the east; and Myus or Myon abounded in provisions, particularly in fish. It was usual with the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces. Even such provinces as the kings retained the revenue of, were under particular assignments; one province furnishing so much for wine, another for victuals, a third for the privy purse,

Some business relative to Greece having brought him to the sea-coast, a Persian named Epixyes, governor of Upper Phrygia, who had a design upon his life, and had long prepared certain Pisidians to kill him, when he should lodge in a city called Leontocephalus, or *Lion's Head*, now determined to put it in execution. But, as he lay sleeping one day at noon, the mother of the gods is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and thus to have addressed him: "Beware, Themistocles, of the "Lion's Head, lest the Lion crush you. For this warning "I require of you Mnesiptolema for my servant." Themistocles awoke in great disorder, and when he had devoutly returned thanks to the goddess, left the high-road, and took another way, to avoid the place of danger. At night he took up his lodging beyond it; but as one of the horses that had carried his tent had fallen into a river, and his servants were busied in spreading the wet hangings to dry, the Pisidians, who were advancing with their swords drawn, saw these hangings indistinctly by moon-light, and taking them for the tent of Themistocles, expected to find him reposing himself within. They approached, therefore, and lifted up the hangings; but the servants that had the care of them, fell upon them and took them. The danger thus avoided, Themistocles admiring the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, built a temple in Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele *Dindymene* and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema priestess of it.

When he was come to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking upon the ornaments of the temples; and among the great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele a female figure of brass, two cubits high, called *Hydrophorus* or the *water-bearer*, which he himself, when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated out of the fines of such as had stolen the water, or diverted the stream. Whether it was that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous to shew the Athenians

purse, and a fourth for the wardrobe. One of the queens had all Egypt for her cloathing; and Plato tells us (1 Alcibiad.) that many of the provinces were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her head-dress, and so of the rest; and each province bore the name of that part of the dress it was to furnish.

how much he was honoured *, and what power he had all over the king's dominions, he addreſſed himſelf to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to ſend back the ſtatue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and ſaid, he would certainly acquaint the king what ſort of a requeſt he had made him. Themiſtocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and, by money, prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this, he behaved with more prudence, ſenſible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Perſians. Hence, he did not travel about Aſia, as Theopompus ſays, but took up his abode at Magneſia, where, loaded with valuable preſents, and equally honoured with the Perſian nobles, he long lived in great ſecurity; for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was ſupported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet ſailed as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon rode triumphant maſter of the ſeas, then the king of Perſia applied himſelf to oppoſe the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, ſent out his generals, and deſpatched meſſengers to Themiſtocles at Magneſia, to command him to perform his promiſes, and exert himſelf againſt Greece. Did he not obey the ſummons then?—No—neither reſentment againſt the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flouriſhed, could prevail upon him to take the direction of the expedition. Poſſibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then ſeveral great generals; and Cimon in particular was diſtinguiſhed with extraordinary ſucceſs. Above all, regard for his own achievements, and the trophies he had gained, whoſe glory he was unwilling to tarniſh, determined him (as the

* It is not improbable that this proceeded from a principle of vanity. The love of admiration was the ruling paſſion of Themiſtocles, and diſcovers itſelf uniformly through his whole conduct.—There might, however, be another reaſon which Plutarch has not mentioned. Themiſtocles was an excellent manager in political religion.—He had lately been eminently diſtinguiſhed by the favour of Cybele. He finds an Athenian ſtatue in her temple.—The goddeſs conſents that he ſhould ſend it to Athens; and the Athenians, out of reſpect to the goddeſs, muſt of courſe ceaſe to perſecute her favourite Themiſtocles.

the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity *. Having, therefore, sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bull's blood †, as is generally reported; or, as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations ‡.

Themistocles had by Archippe, the daughter of Lysander of Alopece, five sons, Neocles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctes, and Cleophantus. The three last survived him. Plato takes notice of Cleophantus as an excellent horseman, but a man of no merit in other respects. Neocles, his eldest son, died when a child, by the bite of a horse; and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters; namely, Mnesiptolema, by a second wife, who was married to Archeptolis, her half brother; Italia, whose husband was Panthides of Chios; Sibaris, married to Nicomedes the Athenian; and Nicomache, at Magnesia, to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who after her father's death, took a voyage for that purpose, received her at the hands of her brothers, and brought up her sister Asia, the youngest of the children.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him, which still remains in the market-place. No credit is to be given to Andocides, who writes to his friends, that the Athenians stole his ashes out of the tomb, and scattered them in the air; for it is an artifice of his to exasperate the nobility against the people. Phylarchus, too, more like a writer of tragedy than an historian, availing

* Thucydides, who was cotemporary with Themistocles, only says, *He died of a distemper; but some report that he poisoned himself, seeing it impossible to accomplish what he had promised the king.*

THUCYD. de Bell. Pelopon. l. i.

† Whilst they were sacrificing the bull, he caused the blood to be received in a cup, and drank it whilst it was warm, which (according to Pliny) is mortal, because it coagulates or thickens in an instant.

‡ There is, in our opinion, more true heroism in the death of Themistocles than in the death of Cato. It is something enthusiastically great when a man determines not to survive his liberty; but it is something still greater, when he refuses to survive his honour.

availing himſelf of what may be called a piece of machinery, introduces Neocles and Demopolis, as the ſons of Themiſtocles, to make his ſtory more intereſting and pathetic. But a very moderate degree of ſagacity may diſcover it to be a fiction. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes, in his treatiſe of ſepulchres, but rather by conjecture than certain knowledge, that, near the harbour of Piræus, from the promontory of Alcimus *, the land makes an elbow, and when you have doubled it inwards, by the ſtill water, there is a vaſt foundation, upon which ſtands the tomb of Themiſtocles †, in the form of an altar. With him Plato, the comic writer, is ſuppoſed to agree in the following lines:

> Oft as the merchant ſpeeds the paſſing ſail,
> Thy tomb, Themiſtocles, he ſtops to hail:
> When hoſtile ſhips in martial combat meet,
> Thy ſhade attending, hovers o'er the fleet.

Various honours and privileges were granted by the Magneſians to the deſcendants of Themiſtocles, which continued down to our times; for they were enjoyed by one of his name, an Athenian, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendſhip in the houſe of Ammonius the philoſopher.

* Meurſius rightly corrects it *Alimus*. We find no place in Attica called *Alcimus*, but a borough named Alimus there was, on the eaſt of the Piræus.

† Thucydides ſays, that the bones of Themiſtocles, by his own command, were privately carried back into Attica, and buried there. But Pauſanias agrees with Theodorus, that the Athenians repenting of their ill uſage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the Piræus.

It does not appear, indeed, that Themiſtocles when baniſhed, had any deſign either to revenge himſelf on Athens, or to take refuge in the court of the king of Perſia. The Greeks themſelves forced him upon this, or rather the Lacedæmonians; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to baniſh him, ſo by their importunities after he was baniſhed, he was not ſuffered to enjoy any refuge in quiet.

CAMILLUS.

CAMILLUS.

AMONG the many remarkable things related of Furius Camillus, the moſt extraordinary ſeems to be this, that though he was often in the higheſt commands, and performed the greateſt actions, though he was five times choſen dictator, though he triumphed four times, and was ſtyled the *ſecond founder of Rome*, yet he was never once conſul. Perhaps we may diſcover the reaſon in the ſtate of the commonwealth at that time: the people then at variance with the ſenate *, refuſed to elect conſuls, and, inſtead of them put the government in the hands of *military tribunes*. Though theſe acted, indeed, with conſular power and authority, yet their adminiſtration was leſs grievous to the people, becauſe they were more in number. To have the direction of affairs entruſted to ſix perſons inſtead of two, was ſome eaſe and ſatisfaction to a people that could not bear to be dictated to by the nobility. Camillus, then diſtinguiſhed by his achievements and at the height of glory, did not chooſe to be conſul againſt the inclinations of the people, though the *comitia*, or aſſemblies in which they might have elected conſuls, were ſeveral times held in that period. In all his other commiſſions, which were many and various, he ſo conducted himſelf, that if he was entruſted with the ſole power, he ſhared it with others, and if he had a colleague, the glory was his own. The authority ſeemed to be ſhared by reaſon of his great modeſty in command, which gave no occaſion to envy; and the glory was ſecured to him by his genius and capacity, in which he was univerſally allowed to have no equal.

The family of the Furii † was not very illuſtrious before his time; he was the firſt that raiſed it to diſtinction, when

* The old quarrel about the diſtribution of lands was revived, the people inſiſting that every citizen ſhould have an equal ſhare. The ſenate met frequently to diſconcert the propoſal; and at laſt Appius Claudius moved, that ſome of the college of the tribunes of the people ſhould be gained, as the only remedy againſt the tyranny of that body: which was accordingly put in execution. The commons, thus diſappointed, choſe military tribunes, inſtead of conſuls, and ſometimes had them all plebeians. Liv. l. iv. c. 48.

† *Furius* was the family name. *Camillus*, (as has been already obſerved

when he ſerved under Poſthumius Tabertus in the great battle with the Equi and Volſci. In that action, ſpurring his horſe before the ranks, he received a wound in the thigh, when inſtead of retiring, he plucked the javelin out of the wound, engaged with the braveſt of the enemy, and put them to flight. For this, among other honours, he was appointed cenſor, an office at that time of great dignity †. There is upon record a very laudable act of his, that took place during his office. As the wars had made many widows, he obliged ſuch of the men as lived ſingle, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by threatening them with fines, to marry thoſe widows. Another act of his, which indeed was abſolutely neceſſary, was, the cauſing orphans, who before were exempt from taxes, to contribute to the ſupplies: for theſe were very large by reaſon of the continual wars. What was then moſt urgent was the ſiege of Veii, whoſe inhabitants ſome call Venetani. This city was the barrier of Tuſcany, and in the quantity of her arms and number of her military, not inferior to Rome. Proud of her wealth, her elegance and luxury, ſhe had maintained with the Romans many long and gallant diſputes for glory and for power. But humbled by many ſignal defeats, the Veientes had then bid adieu to that ambition; they ſatisfied themſelves with building ſtrong and high walls, and filling the city with proviſions, arms, and all kinds of warlike ſtores; and ſo they waited for the enemy without fear. The ſiege was long,

ſerved) was an appellation of children of quality who miniſtered in the temple of ſome god. Our Camillus was the firſt who retained it as a ſurname.

* This was in the year of Rome 324, when Camillus might be about fourteen or fifteen years of age, (for in the year of Rome 389 he was near fourſcore) though the Roman youth did not uſe to bear arms ſooner than ſeventeen. And though Plutarch ſays that his gallant behaviour at that time procured him the cenſorſhip, yet that was an office which the Romans never conferred upon a young perſon; and, in fact, Camillus was not cenſor till the year of Rome 353.

† The authority of the cenſors, in the time of the republic, was very extenſive. They had a power to expel ſenators the houſe, to degrade the knights, and to diſable the commons from giving their votes in the aſſemblies of the people. But the emperors took the office upon themſelves; and, as many of them abuſed it, it loſt its honour, and ſometimes the very title was laid aſide. As to what Plutarch ſays, that Camillus, when cenſor, obliged many of the bachelors to marry the widows of thoſe who had fallen in the wars; that was in purſuance of one of the powers of his office.——*Cælibes eſſe probibento.*

long, but no less laborious and troublesome to the besiegers than to *them*. For the Romans had long been accustomed to summer campaigns only, and to winter at home; and then for the first time their officers ordered them to construct forts, to raise strong works about their camp, and to pass the winter as well as summer in the enemy's country.

The seventh year of the war was now almost past, when the generals began to be blamed; and as it was thought they shewed not sufficient vigour in the siege*, they were superseded, and others put in their room; among whom was Camillus, then appointed *tribune* the second time †. He was not, however, at present concerned in the siege, for it fell to his lot to head the expedition against the Falisci and Capenates, who, while the Romans were otherwise employed, committed great depredations in their country, and harassed them during the whole Tuscan war. But Camillus falling upon them, killed great numbers, and shut up the rest within their walls.

During the heat of the war, a phænomenon appeared in the Alban lake, which might be reckoned amongst the strangest prodigies; and as no common or natural cause could be assigned for it, it occasioned great consternation. The summer was now declining, and the season by no means rainy, nor remarkable for south winds. Of the many springs, brooks, and lakes, which Italy abounds with, some were dried up, and others but feebly resisted the drought; the rivers, always low in the summer, then ran with a very slender stream. But the Alban lake, which has its source within itself, and discharges no part of its water, being quite surrounded with mountains, without any cause, unless it was a supernatural one, began to rise and swell in a most remarkable manner, increasing till

* Of the six military tribunes of that year, only two, L. Virginius and Manius Sergius, carried on the siege of Veii. Sergius commanded the attack, and Virginius covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the Falisci and Capenates fell upon Sergius, and, at the same time, the besieged sallying out, attacked him on the other side. The Romans under his command, thinking they had all the forces of Hetruria to deal with, began to lose courage, and retire. Virginius could have saved his colleague's troops, but as Sergius was too proud to send to him for succour, he resolved not to give him any. The enemy, therefore, made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans in their lines. Liv. lib. v. c. 8.

† The year of Rome 357.

till it reached the ſides, and at laſt the very tops of the hills, all which happened without any agitation of its waters. For a while it was the wonder of the ſhepherds and herdſmen: but when the earth, which like a mole, kept it from overflowing the country below, was broken down with the quantity and weight of water, then deſcending like a torrent through the ploughed fields and other cultivated grounds to the ſea, it not only aſtoniſhed the Romans, but was thought by all Italy to portend ſome extraordinary event. It was the great ſubject of converſation in the camp before Veii, ſo that it came at laſt to be known to the beſieged.

As in the courſe of long ſieges there is uſually ſome converſation with the enemy, it happened that a Roman ſoldier formed an acquaintance with one of the townſmen, a man verſed in ancient traditions, and ſuppoſed to be more than ordinarily ſkilled in divination. The Roman, perceiving that he expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the ſtory of the lake, and thereupon laughed at the ſiege, told him, "This was not the only wonder the times had produced, "but other prodigies ſtill ſtranger than this had happened to the Romans; which he ſhould be glad to communicate to him, if by that means he could provide "for his own ſafety in the midſt of the public ruin." The man readily hearkening to the propoſal, came out to him, expecting to hear ſome ſecret, and the Roman continued the diſcourſe, drawing him forward by degrees, till they were at ſome diſtance from the gates. Then he ſnatched him up in his arms, and by his ſuperior ſtrength held him, till, with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral ſoldiers from the camp, he was ſecured and carried before the generals. The man, reduced to this neceſſity, and knowing that deſtiny cannot be avoided, declared the ſecret oracles concerning his own country, "That the "city could never be taken, till the waters of the Alban lake, which had now forſook their bed, and found "new paſſages, were turned back, and ſo diverted, as "to prevent their mixing with the ſea *."

The ſenate, informed of this prediction, and deliberating about it, were of opinion, it would be beſt to ſend to Delphi to conſult the oracle. They choſe for this purpoſe three

* The prophecy, according to Livy, (l. v. c. 15.) was this, *Veii ſhall never be taken till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba.*

three perſons of honour and diſtinction, Licinius Coſſus, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambuſtus; who, having had a proſperous voyage, and conſulted Apollo, returned with this among other anſwers, "That they had neglect-"ed ſome ceremonies in the Latin feaſts *." As to the water of the Alban lake, they were ordered, if poſſible, to ſhut it up in its ancient bed; or, if that could not be effected, to dig canals and trenches for it, till it loſt itſelf on the land. Agreeably to this direction, the prieſts were employed in offering ſacrifices, and the people in labour, to turn the courſe of the water †.

In the tenth year of the ſiege, the ſenate removed the other magiſtrates, and appointed Camillus dictator, who made choice of Cornelius Scipio for his general of horſe. In the firſt place he made vows to the gods, if they favoured him with putting a glorious period to the war, to celebrate the great circenſian games to their honour ‡, and to conſecrate the temple of the goddeſs, whom the Romans call *the mother matuta*. By her ſacred rites we may ſuppoſe this laſt to be the goddeſs Leucothea. For they take a female ſlave into the inner part of the temple ||, where they beat her, and then drive her out; they carry their brother's children in their arms inſtead of their own §; and they repreſent in the ceremonies of the ſacrifice all that happened to the nurſes of Bacchus, and what Ino ſuffered for having ſaved the ſon of Juno's rival.

After theſe vows, Camillus penetrated into the country of the Faliſci, and in a great battle overthrew them and their auxiliaries the Capenates. Then he turned to the ſiege of Veii; and perceiving it would be both difficult and dangerous to endeavour to take it by aſſault, he ordered mines to be dug, the ſoil about the city being eaſy to work, and admitting of depth enough for the works

* Theſe feaſts were inſtituted by Tarquin the Proud. The Romans preſided in them; but all the people of Latium were to attend them, and to partake of a bull then ſacrificed to Jupiter Latialis.

† This wonderful work ſubſiſts to this day, and the waters of the lake Albano run through it.

‡ Theſe were a kind of tournament in the great *circus*.

|| Leucothoe or Ino was jealous of one of her female ſlaves, who was the favourite of her huſband Athamas.

§ Ino was a very unhappy mother; for ſhe had ſeen her ſon Learchus ſlain by her huſband, whereupon ſhe threw herſelf into the ſea with her other ſon Melicertes. But ſhe was a more fortunate aunt, having preſerved Bacchus the ſon of her ſiſter Semele.

works to be carried on unſeen by the enemy. As this ſucceeded to his wiſh, he made an aſſault without, to call the enemy to the walls; and in the mean time, others of his ſoldiers made their way through the mines, and ſecretly penetrated to Juno's temple in the citadel. This was the moſt conſiderable temple in the city; and we are told, that at that inſtant the Tuſcan general happened to be ſacrificing; when the ſoothſayer, upon inſpection of the entrails, cried out, "The gods promiſe victory "to him that ſhall finiſh this ſacrifice *;" the Romans, who were under ground, hearing what he ſaid, immediately removed the pavement, and came out with loud ſhouts and claſhing their arms, which ſtruck the enemy with ſuch terror, that they fled, and left the entrails, which were carried to Camillus. But perhaps this has more of the air of fable than of hiſtory.

The city thus taken by the Romans ſword in hand, while they were buſy in plundering it and carrying off its immenſe riches, Camillus beholding from the citadel what was done, at firſt burſt into tears: and when thoſe about him began to magnify his happineſs, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and uttered this prayer: "Great Jupiter, and ye gods that have the inſpection "of our good and evil actions, ye know that the Ro-"mans, not without juſt cauſe, but in their own de-"fence, and conſtrained by neceſſity, have made war "againſt this city, and their enemies its unjuſt inhabi-"tants. If we muſt have ſome misfortune in lieu of "this ſucceſs, I intreat that it may fall, not upon Rome "or the Roman army, but upon myſelf: yet lay not, "ye gods, a heavy hand upon me †!" Having pronounced

* Words ſpoken by perſons unconcerned in their affairs, and upon a quite different ſubject, were interpreted by the Heathens as good or bad omens, if they happened to be any way applicable to their caſe. And they took great pains to fulfil the omen, if they thought it fortunate; as well as to evade it, if it appeared unlucky.

† Livy, who has given us this prayer, has not qualified it with that modification ſo unworthy of Camillus, εις εμαυτον ελαχιςω κακω τελευτησαι, *may it be with as little detriment as poſſible to myſelf!* On the contrary, he ſays, *ut eam invidiam lenire ſuo privato incommodo, quam minimo publico populi Romani liceret.* Camillus prayed, that, *if this ſucceſs muſt have an equivalent in ſome enſuing misfortune, that misfortune might fall upon himſelf, and the Roman people eſcape with as little detriment as poſſible.* This was great and heroic. Plutarch, having but an imperfect knowledge of the Roman language, probably miſtook the ſenſe.

nounced these words, he turned to the right, as the manner of the Romans is after prayer and supplication, but fell in turning. His friends that were by, expressed great uneasiness at the accident, but he soon recovered himself from the fall, and told them, "It was only a "small inconvenience after great success, agreeable to "his prayer *."

After the city was pillaged, he determined, pursuant to his vow, to remove this statue of Juno to Rome. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and he offered sacrifice to the goddess, "Beseeching her to accept of "their homage, and graciously to take up her abode "among the gods of Rome." To which it is said the statue softly answered, "She was willing and ready to "do it." But Livy says, Camillus, in offering up his petition, touched the image of the goddess, and intreated her to go with them, and that some of the standers-by answered, "She consented, and would willingly fol-"low them." Those that support and defend the miracle, have the fortune of Rome on their side, which could never have risen from such small and contemptible beginnings to that height of glory and empire, without the constant assistance of some god, who favoured them with many considerable tokens of his presence. Several miracles of a similar nature are also alleged; as, that images have often sweated; that they have been heard to groan; and that sometimes they have turned from their votaries, and shut their eyes. Many such accounts we have from our ancients: and not a few persons of our own times have given us wonderful relations, not unworthy of notice. But to give entire credit to them, or altogether to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous, on account of human weakness. We keep not always within the bounds of reason, nor are masters of our minds! sometimes we fall into vain superstition, and sometimes into an impious neglect of all religion. It is best to be cautious and to avoid extremes †.

Whether

* This is a continuation of the former mistake. Livy tells us, it was conjectured from the event, that this fall of Camillus was a presage of his condemnation and banishment.

† The great Mr. Addison seems to have had this passage of Plutarch in his eye, when he delivered his opinion concerning the doctrine of witches.

Whether it was that Camillus was elated with his great exploit in taking a city that was the rival of Rome, after it had been besieged ten years, or that he was misled by his flatterers, he took upon him too much state for a magistrate subject to the laws and usages of his country: for his triumph was conducted with excessive pomp, and he rode through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which no general ever did before or after him. Indeed, this sort of carriage is esteemed sacred, and is appropriated to the king and father of the gods †. The citizens, therefore, considered this unusual appearance of grandeur as an insult upon them. Besides, they were offended at his opposing the law by which the city was to be divided. For their tribunes had proposed that the senate and people should be divided into two equal parts; one part to remain at Rome, and the other, as the lot happened to fall, to remove to the conquered city, by which means they would not only have more room, but by being in possession of two considerable cities, be better able to defend their territories and to watch over their prosperity. The people, who were very numerous, and enriched by the late plunder, constantly assembled in the *forum*, and in a tumultuous manner demanded to have it put to the vote. But the senate and other principal citizens considered this proposal of the tribunes, not so much the dividing as the destroying of Rome †, and in their uneasiness applied to Camillus. Camillus was afraid to put it to the trial, and therefore invented demurs and pretences of delay, to prevent the bill's being offered to the people; by which he incurred their displeasure.

But the greatest and most manifest cause of their hatred was, his behaviour with respect to the tenths of the spoils: and if the resentment of the people was not in this case altogether just, yet it had some shew of reason. It seems he had made a vow, as he marched to Veii, that, if he took the city, he would consecrate the tenths to Apollo. But when the city was taken, and came to be pillaged, he was either unwilling to interrupt his men, or in the hurry had forgot his vow, and so gave up the whole

* He likewise coloured his face with vermilion, the colour with which the statues of the gods were commonly painted.

† They feared, that two such cities would, by degrees, become two different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies.

whole plunder to them. After he had resigned his dictatorship, he laid the case before the senate: and the soothsayers declared, that the sacrifices announced the anger of the gods, which ought to be appeased by offerings expressive of their gratitude for the favours they had received. The senate then made a decree, that the plunder should remain with the soldiers (for they knew not how to manage it otherwise); but that each should produce upon oath, the tenth of the value of what he had got. This was a great hardship upon the soldiers; and those poor follows could not without force be brought to refund so large a portion of the fruit of their labours, and to make good not only what they had hardly earned, but now actually spent. Camillus, distressed with their complaints, for want of a better excuse, made use of a very absurd apology, by acknowledging he had forgotten his vow. This they greatly resented, that having then vowed the tenths of the enemies goods, he should now exact the tenths of the citizens. However, they all produced their proportion, and it was resolved, that a vase of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But as there was a scarcity of gold in the city, while the magistrates were considering how to procure it, the Roman matrons met, and having consulted among themselves, gave up their golden ornaments, which weighed eight talents, as an offering to the god. And the senate in honour of their piety, decreed that they should have funeral orations as well as the men, which had not been the custom before *. They then sent three of the chief of the nobility ambassadors, in a large ship well manned and fitted out in a manner becoming so solemn an occasion.

In this voyage, they were equally endangered by a storm and a calm, but escaped beyond all expectation, when on the brink of destruction. For the wind slackening near the Æolian islands, the galleys of the Lipareans gave them chase as pirates. Upon their stretching out their hands for mercy, the Lipareans used no violence to their persons, but towed the ship into harbour, and there exposed

* The matrons had the value of the gold paid them: and it was not on this occasion, but afterwards, when they contributed their golden ornaments to make up the sum demanded by the Gauls, that funeral orations were granted them. The privilege they were now favoured with, was leave to ride in chariots at the public games and sacrifices, and in open carriages, of a less honourable sort, on other occasions, in the streets.

exposed both them and their goods to sale, having first adjudged them to be lawful prize. With much difficulty, however, they were prevailed upon to release them, out of regard to the merit and authority of Timesitheus the chief magistrate of the place; who, moreover, conveyed them with his own vessels, and assisted in dedicating the gift. For this, suitable honours were paid him at Rome.

And now the *tribunes of the people* attempted to bring the law for removing part of the citizens to Veii once more upon the carpet: but the war with the Falisci very seasonably intervening, put the management of the elections in the hands of the patricians; and they nominated Camillus a *military tribune* *, together with five others; as affairs then required a general of considerable dignity, reputation, and experience. When the people had confirmed this nomination, Camillus marched his forces into the country of the Falisci, and laid siege to Falerii, a city well fortified, and provided in all respects for the war. He was sensible it was like to be no easy affair, nor soon to be despatched, and this was one reason for his engaging in it; for he was desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might not have leisure to sit down at home and raise tumults and seditions. This was indeed a remedy which the Romans always had recourse to, like good physicians, to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they were surrounded, made so little account of the siege, that the inhabitants, except those who guarded the walls, walked the streets in their common habits. The boys too went to school, and the master took them out to walk and exercise about the walls. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, chose to have their children bred at one public school, that they might betimes be accustomed to the same discipline, and form themselves to friendship and society.

This schoolmaster, then, designing to betray the Falerians by means of their children, took them every day out of the city to exercise, keeping pretty close to the walls at first, and when their exercise was over led them in again. By degrees he took them out farther, accustoming them to divert themselves freely, as if they had nothing

* The year of Rome 361. Camillus was then military tribune the third time.

thing to fear. At laſt, having got them altogether, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up to be carried to Camillus. When he came into his preſence, he ſaid, "He was the ſchoolmaſter of Falerii, but preferring his favour to the obligations of duty, he came to deliver up thoſe children to him, and in them the whole city." This action appeared very ſhocking to Camillus, and he ſaid to thoſe that were by, "War (at beſt) is a ſavage thing, and wades through a ſea of violence and injuſtice; yet even war itſelf has its laws, which men of honour will not depart from; nor do they ſo purſue victory, as to avail themſelves of acts of villany and baſeneſs. For a great general ſhould rely only on his own virtue, and not upon the treachery of others." Then he ordered the *lictors* to tear off the wretch's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and to furniſh the boys with rods and ſcourges, to puniſh the traitor, and whip him into the city. By this means the Falerians had diſcovered the ſchoolmaſter's treaſon; the city, as might be expected, was full of lamentations for ſo great a loſs, and the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowded about the walls and the gate like perſons diſtracted. In the midſt of this diſorder they eſpied the boys whipping on their maſter, naked and bound; and calling Camillus "their god, their deliverer, their father." Not only the parents of thoſe children, but all the citizens in general were ſtruck with admiration at the ſpectacle, and conceived ſuch an affection for the juſtice of Camillus, that they immediately aſſembled in council, and ſent deputies to ſurrender to him both themſelves and their city.

Camillus ſent them to Rome: and when they were introduced to the ſenate, they ſaid, "The Romans, in preferring juſtice to conqueſt, have taught us to be ſatisfied with ſubmiſſion inſtead of liberty. At the ſame time we declare we do not think ourſelves ſo much beneath you in ſtrength, as inferior in virtue." The ſenate referred the diſquiſition and ſettling of the articles of peace to Camillus; who contented himſelf with taking a ſum of money of the Falerians, and having entered into alliance with the whole nation of the Faliſci, returned to Rome.

But the ſoldiers, who expected to have had the plundering of Falerii, when they came back empty-handed, accuſed

accused Camillus to their fellow-citizens as an enemy to the *commons*, and one that maliciously opposed the interest of the poor. And when the tribunes again proposed the law for transplanting part of the citizens to Veii *, and summoned the people to give their votes, Camillus spoke very freely, or rather with much asperity against it, appearing remarkably violent in his opposition to the people; who therefore lost their bill, but harboured a strong resentment against Camillus. Even the misfortune he had in his family, of losing one of his sons, did not in the least mitigate their rage; though, as a man of great goodness and tenderness of heart, he was inconsolable for his loss, and shut himself up at home, a close mourner with the women, at the same time that they were lodging an impeachment against them.

His accuser was Lucius Apuleius, who brought against him a charge of fraud with respect to the Tuscan spoils; and it was alleged that certain brass gates, a part of those spoils, were found with him. The people were so much exasperated, that it was plain they would lay hold on any pretext to condemn him. He, therefore, assembled his friends, his colleagues, and fellow-soldiers, a great number in all, and begged of them not to suffer him to be crushed by false and unjust accusations, and exposed to the scorn of his enemies. When they had consulted together, and fully considered the affair, the answer they gave was, that they did not believe it in their power to prevent the sentence, but they would willingly assist him to pay the fine that might be laid upon him. He could not, however, bear the thoughts of so great an indignity, and giving way to his resentment, determined to quit the city as a voluntary exile. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city †. There he made a stand, and turning about, stretched out his hands towards the capitol, and prayed to the gods, "That if he was driven out without any "fault

* The patricians carried it against the bill, only by a majority of one tribe. And now they were so well pleased with the people, that the very next morning a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, allowed the electing of consuls, instead of military tribunes.

† This was four years after the taking of Falerii.

"fault of his own, and merely by the violence or envy "of the people, the Romans might quickly repent it, "and exprefs to all the world their want of Camillus, "and their regret for his abfence."

When he had thus, like Achilles, uttered his imprecations againft his countrymen, he departed; and leaving his caufe undefended, he was condemned to pay a fine of fifteen thoufand *afes;* which, reduced to Grecian money, is one thoufand five hundred *drachmæ:* for the *as* is a fmall coin that is the tenth part of a piece of filver, which for that reafon is called *denarius*, and anfwers to our *drachma*. There is not a man in Rome who does not believe that thefe imprecations of Camillus had their effect; though the punifhment of his countrymen for their injuftice, proved no ways agreeable to him, but on the contrary matter of grief. Yet how great, how memorable was that punifhment! How remarkably did vengeance purfue the Romans! What danger, deftruction, and difgrace, did thofe times bring upon the city! whether it was the work of fortune, or whether it is the office of fome deity to fee that virtue fhall not be oppreffed by the ungrateful with impunity *.

The firft token of the approaching calamities, was the death of Julius the *Cenfor* †. For the Romans have a particular veneration for the cenfor, and look upon his office as facred. A fecond token happened a little before the exile of Camillus. Marcus Ceditius, a man of no illuftrious family indeed, nor of fenatorial rank, but a perfon of great probity and virtue, informed the military tribunes of a matter which deferved great attention. As he was going the night before along what is called the New Road, he faid he was addreffed in a loud voice. Upon turning about he faw nobody, but heard thefe words in an accent more than human, "Go, Marcus "Ceditius,

* It was the goddefs Nemefis whom the Heathens believed to have the office of punifhing evil actions in this world, particularly pride and ingratitude.

† The Greek text as it now ftands, inftead of the *cenfor* Julius, has the *month* of July; but that has been owing to the error of fome ignorant tranfcriber. Upon the death of Caius Julius the cenfor, Marcus Cornelius was appointed to fucceed him: but as the cenforfhip of the latter proved unfortunate, ever after, when a cenfor happened to die in his office, they not only forbore naming another in his place, but obliged his colleague too to quit his dignity.

"Ceditius, and early in the morning acquaint the ma-"gistrates, that they must shortly expect the Gauls." But the tribunes made a jest of the information; and soon after followed the disgrace of Camillus.

The Gauls are of Celtic origin *, and are said to have left their country, which was too small to maintain their vast numbers, to go in search of another. These emigrants consisted of many thousands of young and able warriors, with a still greater number of women and children. Part of them took their route towards the northern ocean, crossed the Rhiphæan mountains, and settled in the extreme parts of Europe; and part established themselves for a long time between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and Celtorians †. But happening to taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought out of Italy, they so much admired the liquor, and were so enchanted with this new pleasure, that they snatched up their arms, and taking their parents along with them, marched to the Alps ‡, to seek that country which produced such excellent fruit, and, in comparison of which, they considered all others as barren and ungenial.

The man that first carried wine amongst them, and excited them to invade Italy, is said to have been Aruns, a Tuscan, a man of some distinction, and not naturally disposed to mischief, but led to it by his misfortunes. He was guardian to an orphan named Lucumo ||, of the greatest fortune in the country, and most celebrated for beauty. Aruns brought him up from a boy, and when grown up, he still continued at his house, upon a pretence of enjoying his conversation. Mean while he had corrupted his

 guardian's

* The ancients called all the inhabitants of the west and north, as far as Scythia, by the common name of Celtæ.

† The country of the Senones contained Sens, Auxerre, and Troyes, as far up as Paris. Who the Celtorii were is not known: probably the word is corrupted.

‡ Livy tells us, Italy was known to the Gauls two hundred years before, though he does indeed mention the story of Aruns. Then he goes on to inform us, that the migrations of the Gauls into Italy and other countries, was occasioned by their numbers being too large for their old settlements; and that the two brothers Bellovesus and Sigovesus casting lots to determine which way they should steer their course, Italy fell to Bellovesus, and Germany to Sigovesus.

|| *Lucumo* was not the name but the title of the young man. He was Lord of a *Lucumony*. Hetruria was divided into principalities called *Lucumonies*.

guardian's wife, or she had corrupted him, and for a long time the criminal commerce was carried on undiscovered. At length their passion becoming so violent, that they could neither restrain nor conceal it, the young man carried her off, and attempted to keep her openly. The husband endeavoured to find his redress at law, but was disappointed by the superior interest and wealth of Lucumo. He therefore quitted his own country, and having heard of the enterprising spirit of the Gauls, went to them, and conducted their armies into Italy.

In their first expedition they soon possessed themselves of that country which stretches out from the Alps to both seas. That this of old belonged to the Tuscans, the names themselves are a proof: for the sea which lies to the north is called the Adriatic from a Tuscan city named Adria, and that on the other side to the south is called the Tuscan Sea. All that country is well planted with trees, has excellent pastures, and is well watered with rivers. It contained eighteen considerable cities, whose manufactures and trade procured them the gratifications of luxury. The Gauls expelled the Tuscans, and made themselves masters of these cities*; but this was done long before.

The Gauls were now besieging Clusium, a city of Tuscany. The Clusians applied to the Romans, intreating them to send ambassadors and letters to the barbarians. Accordingly they sent three illustrious persons of the *Fabian* family, who had borne the highest employments in the state. The Gauls received them courteously on account of the name of Rome, and putting a stop to their operations against the town, came to a conference. But when they were asked what injury they had received from the Clusians that they came against their city, Brennus, king of the Gauls, smiled and said, "The injury the Clusians do us, is their keeping to themselves "a large tract of ground, when they can only cultivate "a small one, and refusing to give up a part of it to us "who are strangers, numerous, and poor. In the same "manner you Romans were injured formerly by the "Albans, the Fidenates, and the Ardeates, and lately by "the people of Veii and Capenæ, and the greatest part "of the Falisci and the Volsci. Upon these you make "war; if they refuse to share with you their goods, you "enslave their persons, lay waste their country, and "demolish

"demolish their cities. Nor are your proceedings dishonourable or unjust; for you follow the most ancient of laws, which directs the weak to obey the strong, from the Creator even to the irrational part of the creation, that are taught by nature to make use of the advantage their strength affords them against the feeble. Cease, then to express your compassion for the Clusians, lest you teach the Gauls in their turn to commiserate those that have been oppressed by the Romans."

By this answer the Romans clearly perceived that Brennus would come to no terms; and therefore they went into Clusium, where they encouraged and animated the inhabitants to a sally against the barbarians, either to make trial of the strength of the Clusians, or to shew their own. The Clusians made the sally, and a sharp conflict ensued near the walls, when Quintus Ambustus, one of the Fabii, spurred his horse against a Gaul of extraordinary size and figure, who had advanced a good way before the ranks. At first he was not known, because the encounter was hot, and his armour dazzled the eyes of the beholders: but when he had overcome and killed the Gaul, and came to despoil him of his arms, Brennus knew him, and called the gods to witness, "That against all the laws and usages of mankind which were esteemed the most sacred and inviolable, Ambustus came as an ambassador, but acted as an enemy." He drew off his men directly, and bidding the Clusians farewel, led his army towards Rome. But that he might not seem to rejoice that such an affront was offered, or to have wanted a pretext for hostilities, he sent to demand the offender in order to punish him, and in the mean time advanced but slowly.

The herald being arrived, the senate was assembled, and many spoke against the Fabii; particularly the priests called *feciales* represented the action as an offence against religion, and adjured the senate to lay the whole guilt and the expiation of it upon the person who alone was to blame, and so to avert the wrath of heaven from the rest of the Romans. These *feciales* were appointed by Numa, the mildest and justest of kings, conservators of peace, as well as judges to give sanction to the just causes of war. The senate referred the matter to the people, and the priests accused Fabius with same ardour before

them, but ſuch was the diſregard they expreſſed for their perſons, and ſuch their contempt of religion, that they conſtituted that very Fabius and his brethren *military tribunes* *.

As ſoon as the Gauls were informed of this, they were greatly enraged, and would no longer delay their march, but haſtened forward with the utmoſt celerity. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering arms, their fury and impetuoſity ſtruck terror wherever they came; people gave up their lands for loſt, not doubting but the cities would ſoon follow: however, what was beyond all expectation, they injured no man's property; they neither pillaged the fields nor inſulted the cities; and as they paſſed by, they cried out, "They were going to Rome, "they were at war with the Romans only, and conſi- "dered all others as their friends."

While the barbarians were going forward in this impetuous manner, the tribunes led out their forces to battle, in number not inferior †, (for they conſiſted of forty thouſand foot) but the greateſt part undiſciplined, and ſuch as had never handled a weapon before. Beſides, they paid no attention to religion, having neither propitiated the gods by ſacrifice, nor conſulted the ſoothſayers as was their duty in time of danger, and before an engagement. Another thing which occaſioned no ſmall confuſion, was the number of perſons joined in the command; whereas before, they had often appointed for wars of leſs conſideration a ſingle leader, whom they call *dictator*, ſenſible of how great conſequence it is to good order and ſucceſs, at a dangerous criſis, to be actuated as it were with one ſoul, and to have the abſolute command inveſted in one perſon. Their ungrateful treatment of Camillus, too, was not the leaſt unhappy circumſtance; as it now appeared dangerous for the generals to uſe their authority without ſome flattering indulgence to the people.

In this condition they marched out of the city, and encamped about eleven miles from it, on the banks of the

* The year of Rome 366; or (according to ſome Chronologers) 365.

† They were inferior in number; for the Gauls were ſevnty thouſand; and therefore the Romans, when they came to action, were obliged to extend their wings ſo as to make their centre very thin, which was one reaſon of their being ſoon broken.

the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the barbarians came upon them, and as the Romans engaged in a diſorderly manner, they were ſhamefully beaten and put to flight. There left wing was ſoon puſhed into the river, and there deſtroyed. The right wing, which quitted the field to avoid the charge, and gained the hills, did not ſuffer ſo much; many of them eſcaping to Rome. The reſt that ſurvived the carnage, when the enemy were ſatiated with blood, ſtole by night to Veii, concluding that Rome was loſt, and its inhabitants put to the ſword.

This battle was fought when the moon was at full, about the ſummer ſolſtice, the very ſame day that the ſlaughter of the Fabii happened long before*, when three hundred of them were cut off by the Tuſcans. The ſecond misfortune, however, ſo much effaced the memory of the firſt, that the day is ſtill called the *day of* Allia, from the river of that name.

As to the point, whether there be any lucky or unlucky days†, and whether Heraclitus was right in blaming Heſiod for diſtinguiſhing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as not knowing that the nature of all days is the ſame, we have conſidered it in another place. But on this occaſion perhaps it may not be amiſs to mention a few examples. The Bœotians, on the fifth of the month which they call *Hippodromius* and the Athenians *Hecatombæon* [July] gained two ſignal victories, both of which reſtored liberty to Greece; the one at Leuctra; the other at Geræſtus, above two hundred years before‡, when they defeated Lattamyas and the Theſſalians. On the other hand, the Perſians were beaten by the Greeks on the ſixth

* The ſixteenth of July.

† The ancients deemed ſome days lucky and others unlucky, either from ſome occult power which they ſuppoſed to be in numbers, or from the nature of the deities who preſided over them, or elſe from obſervation of fortunate or unfortunate events having often happened on particular days.

‡ The Theſſalians under the command of Lattamyas were beaten by the Bœotians not long before the battle of Thermopylæ, and little more than one hundred years before the battle of Leuctra. There is alſo an error here in the name of the place, probably introduced by ſome blundering tranſcriber (for Plutarch muſt have been well acquainted with the names of places in Bœotia). Inſtead of Geræſtus, we ſhould read Cereſſus; the former was a promontory in Eubœa, the latter was a fort in Bœotia.

of *Boëdromion* [September] at Marathon, on the third of Platæa, as also Mycale, and on the twenty-sixth at Arbeli. About the full moon of the same month, the Athenians, under the conduct of Chabrias, were victorious in the sea-fight near Naxos, and on the twentieth they gained the victory of Salamis, as we have mentioned in the treatise concerning days. The month *Thargelion* [May] was also remarkably unfortunate to the barbarians: for in that month Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals near the Granicus; and the Carthaginians were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily on the twenty-fourth of the same; a day still more remarkable (according to Ephorus, Callisthenes, Demaster, and Phylarchus) for the taking of Troy. On the contrary, the month *Metagitnion* [August] which the Bœotians call *Panemus*, was very unlucky to the Greeks; for on the seventh they were beaten by Antipater in the battle of Cranon and utterly ruined, and before that, they were defeated by Philip at Chæronea. And on that same day and month and year, the troops which under Archidamus made a descent upon Italy, were cut to pieces by the barbarians. The Carthaginians have set a mark upon the twenty-second of that month, as a day that has always brought upon them the greatest of calamities. At the same time I am not ignorant that about the time of the celebration of the *mysteries*, Thebes was demolished by Alexander; and after that, on the same twentieth of *Boëdromion* [September] a day sacred to the solemnities of Bacchus, the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison. On one and the same day the Romans under the command of Cæpio, were stripped of their camp by the Cimbri, and afterwards under Lucullus conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. King Attalus and Pompey the Great both died on their birth days. And I could give account of many others who on the same day at different periods have experienced both good and bad fortune. Be that as it may, the Romans marked the day of their defeat at Allia as unfortunate; and as superstitious fears generally increase upon a misfortune, they not only distinguished that as such, but the two next that follow it in every month throughout the year.

If after so decisive a battle the Gauls had immediately pursued the fugitives, there would have been nothing to hinder the entire destruction of Rome and all that re-

mained

mained in it; with ſuch terror was the city ſtruck at the return of thoſe that eſcaped from the battle, and ſo filled with confuſion and diſtraction! But the Gauls, not imagining the victory to be ſo great as it was, in the exceſs of their joy indulged themſelves in good cheer, and ſhared the plunder of the camp; by which means numbers that were for leaving the city had leiſure to eſcape, and thoſe that remained had time to recollect themſelves and prepare for their defence. For, quitting the reſt of the city, they retired to the capitol, which they fortified with ſtrong ramparts and provided well with arms. But their firſt care was of their holy things, moſt of which they conveyed into the capitol. As for the ſacred fire, the *veſtal virgins* took it up, together with other holy relicks, and fled away with it: though ſome will have it, that they have not the charge of any thing but that *ever-living* fire, which Numa appointed to be worſhipped as the principle of all things. It is indeed the moſt active thing in nature; and all generation either is motion, or, at leaſt, with motion. Other parts of matter, when the heat fails, lie ſluggiſh and dead, and crave the force of fire as an informing ſoul; and when that comes, they acquire ſome active or paſſive quality. Hence it was that Numa, a man curious in his reſearches into nature, and on account of his wiſdom ſuppoſed to have converſed with the muſes, conſecrated this fire, and ordered it to be perpetually kept up, as an image of that eternal power which preſerves and actuates the univerſe. Others ſay, that according to the uſage of the Greeks, the fire is kept ever burning before the holy places, as an emblem of purity; but that there are other things in the moſt ſecret part of the temple, kept from the ſight of all but thoſe virgins whom they call *veſtals*: and the moſt current opinion is, that the *palladium* of Troy, which Æneas brought into Italy, is laid up there.

Others ſay, the Samothracian gods are there concealed; whom Dardanus*, after he had built Troy, brought to that

* Dardanus, who flouriſhed in the time of Moſes, about the year before Chriſt 1480, is ſaid to have been originally of Arcadia, from whence he paſſed to Samothrace. Afterwards he married Batea or Ariſta the daughter of Teucer king of Phrygia. Of the Samothracian gods we have already given an account; but may add here, from Macrobius, that the *dii magni*, which Dardanus brought from Samothrace, were the *penates*, or houſehold gods which Æneas, afterwards carried

that city and caused to be worshipped; and that after the taking of Troy, Æneas privately carried them off, and kept them till he settled in Italy. But those that pretend to know most about these matters, say, there are placed there two casks of a moderate size, the one open and empty, the other full and sealed up, but neither of them to be seen by any but those holy virgins. Others, again, think this is all a mistake, which arose from their putting most of their sacred utensils in two casks, and hiding them under ground in the temple of Quirinus, and that the place from those casks is still called *Doliolo*.

They took, however, with them the choicest and most sacred things they had, and fled with them along the side of the river; where Lucius Albinus, a plebeian, among others that were making their escape, was carrying his wife and children and some of his most necessary moveables in a waggon. But when he saw the vestals in a helpless and weary condition, carrying in their arms the sacred symbols of the gods, he immediately took out his family and goods, and put the virgins in the waggon, that they might make their escape to some of the Grecian cities*. This piety of Albinus, and the veneration he expressed for the gods at so dangerous a juncture, deserves to be recorded.

As for the other priests, and the most ancient of the senators that were of consular dignity, or had been honoured with triumphs, they could not bear to think of quitting the city. They, therefore, put on their holy vestments and robes of state, and, in a form dictated by Fabius the *pontifex maximus*, making their vows to the gods†, devoted themselves for their country: thus attired, they sat down in their ivory chairs in the *forum*‡, prepared for the worst extremity.

The

carried into Italy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, he had seen the *penates* in an old temple at Rome. They were of antique workmanship, representing two young men sitting, and holding each a lance in his hand, and had for their inscription DENAS, instead of PENAS.

* Albinus conducted them to Cære, a city of Hetruria, where they met with a favourable reception. The vestals remained a considerable time at Cære, and there performed the usual rites of religion; and hence those rites was called *Ceremonies*.

† The Romans believed, that, by these voluntary consecrations to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion was brought among the enemy.

‡ These ivory or *curule* chairs were used only by those who had borne the

The third day after the battle, Brennus arrived with his army; and finding the gates of the city opened and the walls destitute of guards, at first he had some apprehensions of a stratagem or ambuscade, for he could not think the Romans had so entirely given themselves up to despair. But when he found it to be so in reality, he entered by the *Colline* gate, and took Rome, a little more than three hundred and sixty years after its foundation; if it is likely that any exact account has been kept of those times *, the confusion of which has occasioned so much obscurity in things of a later date.

Some uncertain rumours, however, of Rome's being taken, appear to have soon passed into Greece. For Heraclides of Pontus †, who lived not long after these times, in his treatise *concerning the soul*, relates, that an account was brought from the west that an army from the country of the Hyperboreans ‡ had taken a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere near the great sea. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous writer as Heraclides should embellish his account of the taking of Rome with the pompous terms of Hyperboreans and the great sea. It is very clear that Aristotle the philosopher had heard that Rome was taken by the Gauls; but he calls its deliverer Lucius; whereas Camillus was not called Lucius but Marcus. These authors had no better authority than common report.

Brennus, thus in possession of Rome, set a strong guard about the capitol, and himself went down into the *forum*; where he was struck with amazement at the sight of so many men seated in great state and silence, who neither rose

the most honourable offices, and the persons who had a right to sit in them bore also ivory staves.

* Livy tells us, that the Romans of those times did not much apply themselves to writing, and that the commentaries of the *pontifices*, and their other monuments both public and private, were destroyed when the city was burnt by the Gauls.

† He lived at that very time: for he was at first Plato's scholar, and afterwards Aristotle's; and Plato was but forty-one years old when Rome was taken.

‡ The ancients called all the inhabitants of the north *Hyperboreans*, and the Mediterranean the *Great Sea*, to distinguish it from the Euxine. Notwithstanding that Heraclides was right in this, he might be a very fabulous writer: so was Herodotus; and so were the ancient historians of almost all countries; and the reason is obvious; they had little more than tradition to write from.

rose up at the approach of their enemies, nor changed countenance or colour, but leaned upon their staves, and sat looking upon each other without fear or concern. The Gauls astonished at so surprising a spectacle, and regarding them as superior beings, for a long time were afraid to approach or touch them. At last one of them ventured to go near Manius Papirius, and advancing his hand, gently stroked his beard, which was very long: upon which, Papirius struck him on the head with his staff, and wounded him. The barbarian then drew his sword and killed him. After this, the Gauls fell upon the rest and slew them, and continuing their rage, despatched all that came in their way. Then for many days together they pillaged the houses and carried off the spoil; at last they set fire to the city, and demolished what escaped the flames, to express their indignatien against those in the capitol, who obeyed not their summons, but made a vigorous defence, and greatly annoyed the besiegers from the walls. This it was that provoked them to destroy the whole city, and to despatch all that fell into their hands, without sparing either sex or age.

As by the length of the siege provisions began to fail the Gauls, they divided their forces, and part stayed with the king before that fortress, while part foraged the country, and laid waste the towns and villages. Their success had inspired them with such confidence, that they did not keep in a body, but carelessly rambled about in different troops and parties. It happened that the largest and best disciplined corps went against Ardea, where Camillus, since his exile, lived in absolute retirement. This great event, however, awaked him into action, and his mind was employed in contriving, not how to keep himself concealed and to avoid the Gauls, but, if an opportunity should offer, to attack and conquer them. Perceiving that the Ardeans were not deficient in numbers, but courage and discipline, which was owing to the inexperience and inactivity of their officers, he applied first to the young men, and told them, "They ought not to "ascribe the defeat of the Romans to the valour of the "Gauls, or to consider the calamities they had suffered "in the midst of their infatuation, as brought upon them "by men who, in fact, could not claim the merit of the "victory but as the work of fortune. That it would "be glorious, though they risked something by it to repel

"repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whose end in "conquering was, like fire, to destroy what they subdued: but that if they would assume a proper spirit, "he would give them an opportunity to conquer without any hazard at all." When he found the young men were pleased with his discourse, he went next to the magistrates and senate of Ardea; and having persuaded them also to adopt his scheme, he armed all that were of a proper age for it, and drew them up within the walls, that the enemy, who were but at a small distance, might not know what he was about.

The Gauls having scoured the country, and loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the plains in a careless and disorderly manner. Night found them intoxicated with wine, and silence reigned in the camp. As soon as Camillus was informed of this by his spies, he led the Ardeans out; and having passed the intermediate space without noise, he reached their camp about midnight. Then he ordered a loud shout to be set up, and the trumpets to sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion: but it was with difficulty they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and fell with their weapons in their hands: but the greatest part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were surprised unarmed and easily despatched. A small number, that in the night escaped out of the camp, and wandered in the fields, were picked up next day by the cavalry, and put to the sword.

The fame of this action soon reaching the neighbouring cities, drew out many of their ablest warriors. Particularly such of the Romans as had escaped from the battle of Allia to Veii, lamented with themselves in some such manner as this, "What a general has heaven taken "from Rome in Camillus, to adorn the Ardeans with "his exploits? while the city which produced and "brought up so great a man is absolutely ruined. And "we, for want of a leader, sit idle within the walls of a "strange city, and betray the liberties of Italy. Come "then, let us send to the Ardeans to demand our general, or else take our weapons and go to him: for "he is no longer an exile, nor we citizens, having no "country but what is in possession of an enemy."

This

This motion was agreed to, and they sent to Camillus to intreat him to accept of the command. But he answered, he could not do it, before he was legally appointed to it, by the Romans in the capitol *. For he looked upon them, while they were in being as the commonwealth, and would readily obey their orders, but without them would not be so officious as to interpose †.

They admired the modesty and honour of Camillus, but knew not how to send the proposal to the capitol. It seemed indeed impossible for a messenger to pass into the citadel, whilst the enemy were in possession of the city. However, a young man, named Pontius Cominius, not distinguished by his birth, but fond of glory, readily took upon him the commission. He carried no letters to the citizens in the capitol, lest, if he should happen to be taken, the enemy should discover by them the intentions of Camillus. Having dressed himself in mean attire, under which he concealed some pieces of cork, he travelled all day without fear, and approached the city as it grew dark. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because it was guarded by the Gauls; and therefore took his clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and bound them about his head; and having laid himself upon the pieces of cork, easily swam over and reached the city. Then avoiding those quarters where, by the lights and noise, he concluded they kept watch, he went to the *Carmental* gate, where there was the greatest silence, and where the hill of the capitol is the steepest and most craggy. Up this he got unperceived, by a way the most difficult and dreadful, and advanced near the guards upon the walls. After he had hailed them and told them his name, they received him with joy, and conducted him to the magistrates.

The senate was presently assembled, and he acquainted them with the victory of Camillus, which they had not heard of before, as well as with the proceedings of the soldiers at Veii, and exhorted them to confirm Camillus in

* Livy says, the Roman soldiers at Veii applied to the remains of the senate in the capitol for leave, before they offered the command to Camillus. So much regard had those brave men for the constitution of their country, though Rome then lay in ashes. Every private man was indeed a patriot.

† μηδεν πολυπραγμονησειν.

in the command, as the citizens out of Rome would obey none but him. Having heard his report and consulted together, they declared Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back the same way he came, who was equally fortunate in his return; for he passed the enemy undiscovered, and delivered to the Romans at Veii the decree of the senate, which they received with pleasure.

Camillus, at his arrival, found twenty thousand of them in arms, to whom he added a greater number of the allies, and prepared to attack the enemy. Thus was he appointed dictator the second time, and having put himself at the head of the Romans and confederates, he marched out against the Gauls.

Mean time, some of the barbarians employed in the siege, happening to pass by the place where Pontius had made his way by night up to the capitol, observed many traces of his feet and hands, as he had worked himself up the rock, torn off what grew there, and tumbled down the mold. Of this they informed the king; who coming and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but in the evening he assembled the lightest and most active of his men, who were the likeliest to climb any difficult height, and thus addressed them: "The enemy "have themselves shewn us a way to reach them, which "we were ignorant of, and have proved that this rock "is neither inaccessible nor untrod by human feet. What "a shame would it be then after having made a beginning, not to finish; and to quit the place as impregnable, when the Romans themselves have taught us "how to take it? Where it was easy for one man to "ascend, it cannot be difficult for many, one by one; "nay, should many attempt it together, they will find "great advantage in assisting each other. In the mean "time I intend great rewards and honours for such as "shall distinguish themselves on this occasion."

The Gauls readily embraced the king's proposal, and about midnight a number of them together began to climb the rock in silence, which, though steep and craggy, proved more practicable than they expected. The foremost having gained the top, put themselves in order, and were ready to take possession of the wall, and to fall upon the guards who were fast asleep; for neither man nor dog perceived their coming. However, there were cer-

tain ſacred geeſe kept near Juno's temple *, and at other times plentifully fed; but at this time, as corn and the other proviſions that remained were ſcarce ſufficient for the men, they were neglected and in poor condition. This animal is naturally quick of hearing, and ſoon alarmed at any noiſe; and as hunger kept them waking and uneaſy, they immediately perceived the coming of the Gauls, and running at them with all the noiſe they could make, they awoke all the guards. The barbarians now, perceiving they were diſcovered, advanced with loud ſhouts and great fury. The Romans in haſte ſnatched up ſuch weapons as came to hand, and acquitted themſelves like men on this ſudden emergency. Firſt of all, Manlius, a man of conſular dignity, remarkable for his ſtrength and extraordinary courage, engaged two Gauls at once; and as one of them was lifting up his battle-ax, with his ſword cut off his right hand: At the ſame time he thruſt the boſs of his ſhield in the face of the other, and daſhed him down the precipice. Thus ſtanding upon the rampart, with thoſe that had come to his aſſiſtance and fought by his ſide, he drove back the reſt of the Gauls that had got up, who were no great number, and who performed nothing worthy of ſuch an attempt. The Romans having thus eſcaped the danger that threatened them, as ſoon as it was light, threw the officer that commanded the watch down the rock amongſt the enemy, and decreed Manlius a reward for his victory, which had more of honour in it than profit; for every man gave him what he had for one day's allowance, which was half a pound of bread and a quartern of the Greek *cotyle*.

After this, the Gauls began to loſe courage: For proviſions were ſcarce and they could not forage for fear of Camillus †. Sickneſs too, prevailed among them, which took its riſe from the heaps of dead bodies, and from their encamping amidſt the rubbiſh of the houſes they had burnt; where there was ſuch a quantity of aſhes as

* Geeſe were ever after had in honour at Rome, and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a gooſe was erected in memory of them, and a gooſe every year carried in triumph upon a ſoft litter finely adorned; while dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them upon a branch of elder. PLIN. & PLUT. *de Fortuna Rom.*

† Camillus being maſter of the country, poſted ſtrong guards on all the roads, and in effect beſieged the beſiegers.

as, when raiſed by the winds or heated by the ſun, by their dry and acrid quality ſo corrupted the air, that every breath of it was pernicious. But what effected them moſt was, the change of climate; for they had lived in countries that abounded with ſhades and agreeable ſhelters from the heat, and were now got into grounds that were low, and unhealthy in autumn. All this, together with the length and tediouſneſs of the ſiege, which had now laſted more than ſix months, cauſed ſuch deſolation among them, and carried off ſuch numbers, that the carcaſes lay unburied.

The beſieged, however, were not in a much better condition. Famine, which now preſſed them hard, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing, cauſed no ſmall dejection: For the barbarians guarded the city with ſo much care, that it was impoſſible to ſend any meſſenger to him. Both ſides being thus equally diſcouraged, the advanced guards, who were near enough to converſe, firſt began to talk of treating. As the motion was approved by thoſe that had the chief direction of affairs, Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, went and conferred with Brennus; where it was agreed, that the Romans ſhould pay a thouſand pounds weight of gold*, and that the Gauls upon the receipt of it ſhould immediately quit the city and its territories. When the conditions were ſworn to, and the gold was brought, the Gauls endeavouring to avail themſelves of falſe weights, privately at firſt, and afterwards openly drew down their own ſide of the balance. The Romans expreſſing their reſentment, Brennus in a contemptuous and inſulting manner took off his ſword, and threw it, belt and all, into the ſcale: And when Sulpitius aſked, what that meant, he anſwered, "What ſhould it mean but wo † to "the conquered? which became a proverbial ſaying. Some of the Romans were highly incenſed at this, and talked of returning with their gold, and enduring the utmoſt extremities of the ſiege; but others were of opinion, that it was better to paſs by a ſmall injury, ſince the indignity lay not in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing at all; a diſgrace only conſequent upon the neceſſity of the times.

While

* That is, forty-five thouſand pounds ſterling.

† *Væ Victis!*

While they were thus disputing with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates; and being informed of what had passed, ordered the main body of his army to advance slowly and in good order, while he with a select band marched hastily up to the Romans, who all gave place and received the dictator with respect and silence. Then he took the gold out of the scales and gave it to the *lictors* and ordered the Gauls to take away the balance and the weights, and to be gone; telling them, *it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with steel, not with gold.* And when Brennus expressed his indignation, and complained he had great injustice done him by this infraction of the treaty, Camillus answered, "That it "was never lawfully made; nor could it be valid, without "his consent who was dictator and sole magistrate; they "had, therefore, acted without proper authority: But "they might make their proposals, now he was come, "whom the laws had invested with power either to pardon the suppliant, or to punish the guilty, if proper "satisfaction was not made.

At this Brennus was still more highly incensed, and a skirmish ensued; swords were drawn on both sides, and thrusts exchanged in a confused manner, which it is easy to conceive must be the case, amidst the ruins of houses and in narrow streets, where there was not room to draw up regularly. Brennus, however, soon recollected himself, and drew off his forces into the camp, with the loss of a small number. In the night he ordered them to march, and quit the city; and having retreated about eight miles from it, he encamped upon the Gabinian road. Early in the morning Camillus came up with them, his arms dazzling the sight, and his men full of spirits and fire. A sharp engagement ensued, which lasted a long time; at length the Gauls were routed with great slaughter, and their camp taken. Some of those that fled were killed in the pursuit; but the greater part were cut in pieces by the people in the neighbouring towns and villages, who fell upon them as they were dispersed *.

Thus

* There is reason to question the truth of the latter part of this story. Plutarch copied it from Livy. But Polybius represents the Gauls as actually receiving the gold from the Romans, and returning in safety to their own country; and this is confirmed by Justin, Suetonius, and even by Livy himself in another part of his history, x. 16.

Thus was Rome ſtrangely taken, and more ſtrangely recovered, after it had been ſeven months in the poſſeſſion of the barbarians: for they entered it a little after the *Ides*, the fifteenth of July, and were driven out about the *Ides*, the thirteenth of February following. Camillus returned in triumph, as became the deliverer of his loſt country, and the reſtorer of Rome. Thoſe that had quitted the place before the ſiege, with their wives and children, now followed his chariot; and they that had been beſieged in the capitol and were almoſt periſhing with hunger, met the other and embraced them; weeping for joy at this unexpected pleaſure, which they almoſt conſidered as a dream. The prieſts and miniſters of the gods bringing back with them what holy things they had hid or conveyed away when they fled, afforded a moſt deſirable ſpectacle to the people; and they gave them the kindeſt welcome, as if the gods themſelves had returned with them to Rome. Next, Camillus ſacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, in a form dictated by the pontiffs. He rebuilt the former temples and erected a new one to *Aius Loquutius* the *ſpeaker*, or *warner*, upon the very ſpot where the voice from heaven announced in the night to Marcus Ceditius the coming of the barbarians. There was, indeed, no ſmall difficulty in diſcovering the places where the temples had ſtood, but it was effected by the zeal of Camillus and the induſtry of the prieſts.

As it was neceſſary to rebuild the city, which was entirely demoliſhed, an heartleſs deſpondency ſeized the multitude, and they invented pretexts of delay. They were in want of all neceſſary materials, and had more occaſion for repoſe and refreſhment after their ſufferings, than to labour and wear themſelves out, when their bodies were weak and their ſubſtance was gone. They had, therefore, a ſecret attachment to Veii, a city which remained entire, and was provided with every thing. This gave a handle to their demagogues to harangue them, as uſual, in a way agreeable to their inclinations, and made them liſten to ſeditious ſpeeches againſt Camillus; "As if, to gratify his ambition and thirſt of glory, "he would deprive them of a city fit to receive them, "force them to pitch their tents among rubbiſh, and "rebuild a ruin that was like one great funeral-pile; "in order that he might not only be called the general

" and dictator of Rome, but the founder, too, instead " of Romulus, whose right he invaded."

On this account, the senate, afraid of an insurection, would not let Camillus lay down the dictatorship within the year, as he desired, though no other person had ever borne that high office more than six months. In the mean time they went about to console the people, to gain them by caresses and kind persuasions. One while they shewed them the monuments and tombs of their ancestors, then they put them in mind of their temples and holy places, which Romulus and Numa, and the other kings, had consecrated and left in charge with them. Above all, amidst the sacred and awful symbols, they took care to make them recollect the fresh human head*, which was found when the foundations of the capitol were dug, and which presignified that the same place was destined to be the head of Italy. They urged the disgrace it would be to extinguish again the sacred fire, which the vestals had lighted since the war, and to quit the city; whether they were to see it inhabited by strangers, or a desolate wild for flocks to feed in. In this moving manner the *patricians* remonstrated to the people both in public and private; and were, in their turn, much affected by the distress of the multitude, who lamented their present indigence, and begged of them, now they were collected like the remains of a shipwreck, not to oblige them to patch up the ruins of a desolated city, when there was one entire and ready to receive them.

Camillus, therefore, thought proper to take the judgment of the senate in a body. And when he had exerted his eloquence in favour of his native country, and others had done the same, he put it to the vote, beginning with Lucius Lucretius, whose right it was to vote first, and who was to be followed by the rest in their order. Silence was made; and as Lucretius was about to declare himself, it happened that a centurion who then commanded the day-guard, as he passed the house, called with a loud voice to

* This prodigy happened in the reign of Tarquin *the proud*, who undoubtedly must have put the head there on purpose: for in digging the foundation it was found warm and bleeding, as if just severed from the body. Upon this, the Romans sent to consult the Tuscan soothsayers, who, after vainly endeavouring to bring the presage to favour their own country, acknowledged that the place where that head was found would be the head of all Italy. DIONYS. HAL. lib. iv.

to the enſign, *to ſtop and ſet up his ſtandard there, for that was the beſt place to ſtay in.* Theſe words being ſo ſeaſonably uttered, at a time when they were doubtful and anxious about the event, Lucretius gave thanks to the gods; and embraced the omen; while the reſt gladly aſſented. A wonderful change, at the ſame time, took place in the minds of the people, who exhorted and encouraged each other to the work, and they began to build immediately, not in any order or upon a regular plan, but as inclination or convenience directed. By reaſon of this hurry the ſtreets were narrow and intricate, and the houſes badly laid out; for they tell us both the walls of the city and the ſtreets were built within the compaſs of a year.

The perſons appointed by Camillus to ſearch for and mark out the holy places, found all in confuſion. As they were looking round the *Palatium,* they came to the court of *Mars,* where the buildings, like the reſt, were burnt and demoliſhed by the barbarians; but in removing the rubbiſh and cleaning the place, they diſcovered, under a great heap of aſhes, the augural ſtaff of Romulus. This ſtaff is crooked at one end, and called *lituus.* It is uſed in marking out the ſeveral quarts of the heavens, in any proceſs of divination by the flight of birds, which Romulus was much ſkilled in and made great uſe of. When he was taken out of the world, the prieſts carefully preſerved the ſtaff from defilement, like other holy relicks: And this having eſcaped the fire, when the reſt were conſumed, they indulged a pleaſing hope, and conſidered it as a preſage, that Rome would laſt for ever *.

Before they had finiſhed the laborious taſk of building, a new war broke out. The Æqui, the Volci, and the Latins, all at once invaded their territories, and the Tuſcans laid ſiege to Sutrium, a city in alliance with Rome. The military tribunes too, who commanded the army,

* About this time, the tribunes of the people determined to impeach Q. Fabius, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the Gauls, and occaſioned the burning of Rome. His crime being notorious, he was ſummoned by C. Martius Rutilus before the aſſembly of the people, to anſwer for his conduct in the embaſſy. The criminal had reaſon to fear the ſevereſt puniſhment; but his relations gave out that he died ſuddenly; which generally happened when the accuſed perſon had courage enough to prevent his condemnation, and the ſhame of a public puniſhment.

army, being ſurrounded by the Latins near Mount Marcius, and their camp in great danger, ſent to Rome to deſire ſuccours; on which occaſion Camillus was appointed dictator the third time.

Of this war there are two different accounts: I begin with the fabulous one. It is ſaid, the Latins either ſeeking a pretence for war, or really inclined to renew their ancient affinity with the Romans, ſent to demand of them a number of free born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in no ſmall perplexity as to the courſe they ſhould take: For, on the one hand, they were afraid of war, as they were not yet re-eſtabliſhed nor had recovered their loſſes; and on the other, they ſuſpected that the Latins only wanted their daughters for hoſtages, though they coloured their deſign with the ſpecial name of marriage. While they were thus embarraſſed, a female ſlave, named Tutula*, or, as ſome call her, Philotis, adviſed the magiſtrates to ſend with her ſome of the handſomeſt and moſt genteel of the maid-ſervants, dreſſed like virgins of good families, and leave the reſt to her. The magiſtrates approving the expedient, choſe a number of female ſlaves proper for her purpoſe, and ſent them richly attired to the Latin camp, which was not far from the city. At night, while the other ſlaves conveyed away the enemies' ſwords, Tutula or Philotis got up into a wild fig-tree of conſiderable height, and having ſpread a thick garment behind, to conceal her deſign from the Latins, held up a torch towards Rome, which was the ſignal agreed upon between her and the magiſtrates, who alone were in the ſecret. For this reaſon the ſoldiers ſallied out in a tumultuous manner, calling upon each other, and haſtened by their officers, who found it difficult to bring them into any order. They made themſelves maſters, however, of the entrenchments, and as the enemy, expecting no ſuch attempt, were aſleep, they took the camp and put the greateſt part of them to the ſword. This happened on the *Nones*, the ſeventh of July, then called *Quintillis*: And on that day they celebrate a feaſt in memory of this action. In the firſt place, they ſally in a crowding and diſorderly manner out of the city, pronouncing aloud the moſt familiar and common names, as Caius, Marcus, Lucius, and

* In the life of Romulus ſhe is called *Tutola*. Macrobius calls her *Tutela*.

and the like; by which they imitate the soldiers then calling upon each other in their hurry. Next, the maid-servants walk about, elegantly dressed, and jesting on all they meet. They have also a kind of fight among themselves, to express the assistance they gave in the engagement with the Latins. Then they sit down to an entertainment, shaded with branches of the fig-tree: And that day is called *Nonæ Capratinæ*, as some suppose, on account of the wild fig-tree, from which the maid-servant held out the torch; for the Romans call that tree *caprificus*. Others refer the greatest part of what is said and done on that occasion to that part of the story of Romulus when he disappeared, and the darkness and tempest, or, as some imagine, an eclipse happened. It was on the same day, at least, and the day might be called *Nonæ Capratinæ*; for the Romans call a *goat Capra*; and Romulus vanished out of sight while he was holding an assembly of the people at the *Goat's Marsh*, as we have related in his life.

The other account that is given of this war, and approved by most historians, is as follows. Camillus, being appointed dictator the third time, and knowing that the army under the military tribunes was surrounded by the Latins and Volscians, was constrained to make levies among such as age had exempted from service. With these he fetched a large compass about Mount Marcius, and unperceived by the enemy posted his army behind them; and by lighting many fires signified his arrival. The Romans that were besieged in their camp, being encouraged by this, resolved to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians kept close within their works, drawing a line of circumvallation with palisades, because they had the enemy on both sides, and resolving to wait for reinforcements from home, as well as for the Tuscan succours.

Camillus, perceiving this, and fearing that the enemy might surround them, as he had surrounded them, hastened to make use of the present opportunity. As the works of the confederates consisted of wood, and the wind used to blow hard from the mountains at sun-rising, he provided a great quantity of combustible matter, and drew out his forces at day-break. Part of them he ordered with loud shouts and missive weapons to begin the attack on the opposite side; while he himself, at the head of

of thofe that were charged with the fire, watched the proper minute, on that fide of the works where the wind ufed to blow directly. When the fun was rifen the wind blew violently; and the attack being begun on the other fide, he gave the fignal to his own party, who poured a vaft quantity of fiery darts and other burning matter into the enemy's fortifications. As the flame foon caught hold, and was fed by the palifades and other timber, it fpread itfelf into all quarters; and the Latins not being provided with any means of extinguifhing it, the camp was almoft full of fire, and they were reduced to a fmall fpot of ground. At laft they were forced to bear down upon that body who were pofted before the camp and ready to receive them fword in hand. Confequently very few of them efcaped; and thofe that remained in the camp were deftroyed by the flames, till the Romans extinguifhed them for the fake of the plunder.

After this exploit, he left his fon Lucius in the camp to guard the prifoners and the booty, while he himfelf penetrated into the enemy's country. There he took the city of the Æqui and reduced the Volfci, and then led his army to Sutrium, whofe fate he was not yet apprifed of, and which he hoped to relieve by fighting the Tufcans who had fat down before it. But the Sutrians had already furrendered their town, with the lofs of every thing but the clothes they had on; and in this condition he met them by the way, with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes. Camillus was extremely moved at fo fad a fpectacle; and perceiving that the Romans wept with pity at the affecting intreaties of the Sutrians, he determined not to defer his revenge, but to march to Sutrium that very day; concluding that men who had juft taken an opulent city, where they had not left one enemy, and who expected none from any other quarter, would be found in diforder and off their guard. Nor was he miftaken in his judgment. He not only paffed through the country undifcovered, but approached the gates and got poffeffion of the walls before they were aware. Indeed there was none to guard them; for all were engaged in feftivity and diffipation. Nay, even when they perceived that the enemy were mafters of the town, they were fo overcome by their indulgencies, that few endeavoured to efcape; they were either flain in their houfes, or

or surrendered themselves to the conquerors. Thus the city of Sutrium being twice taken in one day, the new possessors were expelled, and the old ones restored, by Camillus.

By the triumph decreed him on this occasion, he gained no less credit and honour than by the two former. For those of the citizens that envied him, and were desirous to attribute his successes rather to fortune than to his valour and conduct, were compelled by these last actions, to allow his great abilities and application. Among those that opposed him and detracted from his merit, the most considerable was Marcus Manlius, who was the first that repulsed the Gauls, when they attempted the capitol by night, and on that account was surnamed *Capitolinus*. He was ambitious to be the greatest man in Rome, and as he could not by fair means outstrip Camillus in the race of honour, he took the common road to absolute power by courting the populace, particularly those that were in debt. Some of the latter he defended, by pleading their causes against their creditors; and others he rescued, forcibly preventing their being dealt with according to law: So that he soon got a number of indigent persons about him, who became formidable to the patricians by their insolent and riotous behaviour in the *forum*.

In this exigency they appointed Cornelius Cossus * dictator, who named Titus Quintius Capitolinus his general of horse; and by this supreme magistrate Manlius was committed to prison: On which occasion the people went into mourning; a thing never used but in time of great and public calamities. The senate, therefore, afraid of an insurrection, ordered him to be released. But when set at liberty, instead of altering his conduct, he grew more insolent and troublesome, and filled the whole city with faction and sedition. At that time Camillus was again created a military tribune, and Manlius taken and brought to his trial. But the sight of the capitol was a great disadvantage to those that carried on the impeachment. The place where Manlius by night maintained the fight against the Gauls, was seen from the *forum*; and all that attended were moved with compassion

* Vide Liv. lib. vi. cap. ii.

at his ſtretching out his hands towards that place, and begging them with tears to remember his achievements. The judges of courſe were greatly embarraſſed, and often adjourned the court, not chooſing to acquit him after ſuch clear proofs of his crime, nor yet able to carry the laws into execution in a place which continually reminded the people of his ſervices. Camillus, ſenſible of this, removed the tribunal without the gate, into the Peteline Grove, where there was no proſpect of the capitol. There the proſecutor brought his charge, and the remembrance of his former bravery gave way to the ſenſe which his judges had of his preſent crimes. Manlius, therefore, was condemned, carried to the capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock. Thus the ſame place was the monument, both of his glory and his unfortunate end. The Romans, moreover, razed his houſe, and built there a temple to the goddeſs *Moneta*. They decreed likewiſe that for the future no *patrician* ſhould ever dwell in the capitol*.

Camillus, who was now nominated military tribune the ſixth time, declined that honour. For, beſides that he was of an advanced age, he was apprehenſive of the effects of envy and of ſome change of fortune, after ſo much glory and ſucceſs. But the excuſe he moſt inſiſted on in public, was, the ſtate of his health, which at that time was infirm. The people, however, refuſing to accept of that excuſe, cried out, "They did not deſire "him to fight either on horſeback or on foot; they only "wanted his counſel and his orders. Thus they forced "him to take the office upon him, and, together with "Lucius

* Leſt the advantageous ſituation of a fortreſs, that commanded the whole city, ſhould ſuggeſt and facilitate the deſign of enſlaving it. For Manlius was accuſed of aiming at the ſovereign power. His fate may ſerve as a warning to all ambitious men who want to riſe on the ruins of their country; for he could not eſcape or find mercy with the people, though he produced above four hundred plebeians, whoſe debts he had paid; though he ſhewed thirty ſuits of armour, the ſpoils of thirty enemies, whom he had ſlain in ſingle combat; though he had received forty honorary rewards, among which were two mural and eight civic crowns, (C. Servilius, when general of the horſe, being of the number of citizens whoſe lives he had ſaved;) and though he had crowned all with the preſervation of the capitol. So inconſtant, however, is the multitude, that Manlius was ſcarce dead, when his loſs was generally lamented, and a plague, which ſoon followed, aſcribed to the anger of Jupiter againſt the authors of his death.

"Lucius Furius Medullinus, one of his colleagues, to "march immediately againſt the enemy."

Theſe were the people of Præneſte and the Volſci, who with a conſiderable army were laying waſte the country in alliance with Rome. Camillus, therefore, went and encamped over againſt them, intending to prolong the war, that if there ſhould be any neceſſity for a battle, he might be ſufficiently recovered to do his part. But as his colleague Lucius, too ambitious of glory, was violently and indiſcreetly bent upon fighting, and inſpired the other officers with the ſame ardour, he was afraid it might be thought that through envy he withheld from the young officers the opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves. For this reaſon he agreed, though with great reluctance, that Lucius ſhould draw out the forces, whilſt he, on account of his ſickneſs*, remained with a handful of men in the camp. But when he perceived that Lucius, who engaged in a raſh and precipitate manner, was defeated, and the Romans put to flight, he could not contain himſelf, but leaped from his bed, and went with his retinue to the gates of the camp. There he forced his way through the fugitives up to the purſuers, and made ſo good a ſtand, that thoſe who had fled to the camp ſoon returned to the charge, and others that were retreating rallied and placed themſelves about him, exhorting each other not to forſake their general. Thus the enemy were ſtopt in the purſuit. Next day he marched out at the head of his army, entirely routed the confederates in a pitched battle, and entering their camp along with them, cut moſt of them in pieces.

After this, being informed that Satricum, a Roman colony, was taken by the Tuſcans, and the inhabitants put to the ſword, he ſent home the main body of his forces, which conſiſted of the heavy-armed, and with a ſelect band of light and ſpirited young men fell upon the Tuſcans that were in poſſeſſion of the city, ſome of whom he put to the ſword, and the reſt were driven out.

Returning to Rome with great ſpoils, he gave a ſignal evidence of the good ſenſe of the Roman people, who entertained no fears on account of the ill health or age of a general that was not deficient in courage or experience, but

* Livy ſays, he placed himſelf on an eminence, with a *corps de reſerve*, to obſerve the ſucceſs of the battle.

but made choice of him, infirm and reluctant as he was, rather than of thoſe young men that wanted and ſolicited the command. Hence it was, that upon the news of the revolt of the Tuſculans, Camillus was ordered to march againſt them, and to take with him only one of his five colleagues. Though they all deſired and made intereſt for the commiſſion, yet, paſſing the reſt by, he pitched upon Lucius Furius, contrary to the general expectation: for this was the man who but juſt before, againſt the opinion of Camillus, was ſo eager to engage, and loſt the battle. Yet, willing, it ſeems, to draw a veil over his misfortune and to wipe off his diſgrace, he was generous enough to give him the preference *.

When the Tuſculans perceived that Camillus was coming againſt them, they attempted to correct their error by artful management. They filled the fields with huſbandmen and ſhepherds, as in time of profound peace; they left their gates open, and ſent their children to ſchool as before. The tradeſmen were found in their ſhops employed in their reſpective callings, and the better ſort of citizens walking in the public places in their uſual dreſs. Mean while the magiſtrates were buſily paſſing to and fro, to order quarters for the Romans; as if they expected no danger and were conſcious of no fault. Though theſe arts could not alter the opinion Camillus had of their revolt, yet their repentance diſpoſed him to compaſſion. He ordered them, therefore, to go to the ſenate of Rome and beg pardon: and when they appeared there as ſuppliants, he uſed his intereſt to procure their forgiveneſs, and a grant of the privileges of Roman citizens † beſides. Theſe were the principal actions of his ſixth tribuneſhip.

After

* This choice of Camillus had a different motive from what Plutarch mentions. He knew that Furius, who had felt the ill effects of a precipitate conduct, would be the firſt man to avoid ſuch a conduct for the future.

† He was only a Roman citizen, in the moſt extenſive ſignification of the words, who had a right of having an houſe in Rome, of giving his vote in the Comitia, and of ſtanding candidate for any office; and who, conſequently, was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freedmen in the times of the republic were excluded from dignities: and of the municipal towns and Roman colonies, which enjoyed he right of citizenſhip, ſome had, and ſome had not, the right of ſuffrage and of promotion to offices in Rome.

After this, Licinius Stolo raiſed a great ſedition in the ſtate; putting himſelf at the head of the people, who inſiſted that of the two conſuls one ſhould be a plebeian. Tribunes of the people were appointed, but the multitude would ſuffer no election of conſuls to be held *. As this want of chief magiſtrates was likely to bring on ſtill greater troubles, the ſenate created Camillus dictator the fourth time, againſt the conſent of the people, and not even agreeable to his own inclination †. For he was unwilling to ſet himſelf againſt thoſe perſons, who, having been often led on by him to conqueſt, could with great truth affirm, that he had more concern with them in the military way, than with the patricians in the civil; and at the ſame time was ſenſible that the envy of thoſe very patricians induced them now to promote him to that high ſtation, that he might oppreſs the people if he ſucceeded, or be ruined by them if he failed in his attempt. He attempted, however, to obviate the preſent danger, and as he knew the day on which the tribunes intended to propoſe their law, he publiſhed a general muſter, and ſummoned the people from the *forum* into the field, threatening to ſet heavy fines upon thoſe that ſhould not obey. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people oppoſed him with menaces, ſolemnly proteſting they would fine him fifty thouſand *drachmas*, if he did not permit the people to put their bill to the vote. Whether it was that he was afraid of a ſecond condemnation and baniſhment, which would but ill ſuit him, now he was grown old and covered with glory, or whether he thought he could not get the better of the people, whoſe violence was equal to their

* This confuſion laſted five years; during which the tribunes of the people prevented the Comitia from being held, which were neceſſary for the election of the chief magiſtrates. It was occaſioned by a trifling accident. Fabius Ambuſtus having married his eldeſt daughter to Servius Sulpicius, a patrician, and at this time military tribune, and the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian; it happened that while the younger ſiſter was paying a viſit to the elder, Sulpicius came home from the forum, and his lictors, with the ſtaff of the faſces, thundered at the door. The younger ſiſter being frightened at the noiſe, the elder laughed at her, as a perſon quite ignorant of high life. This affront greatly afflicted her; and her father, to comfort her, bid her not be uneaſy, for ſhe ſhould ſoon ſee as much ſtate at her own houſe as had ſurpriſed her at her ſiſter's.

† The year of Rome 388.

their power, for the present he retired to his own house; and soon after, under pretence of sickness, resigned the dictatorship *. The senate appointed another dictator, who, having named for his general of horse that very Stolo who was leader of the sedition, suffered a law to be made that was extremely disagreeable to the patricians. It provided that no person whatsoever should possess more than five hundred acres of land. Stolo having carried his point with the people, flourished greatly for a while: but not long after being convicted of possessing more than the limited number of acres, he suffered the penalties of his own law.

The most difficult part of the dispute, and that which they began with, namely, concerning the election of consuls, remained still unsettled, and continued to give the senate great uneasiness; when certain information was brought that the Gauls were marching again from the coasts of the Adriatic, with an immense army towards Rome. With this news came an account of the usual effects of war, the country laid waste, and such of the inhabitants as could not take refuge in Rome dispersed about the mountains. The terror of this put a stop to the sedition; and the most popular of the senators uniting with the people, with one voice created Camillus dictator the fifth time. He was now very old, wanting little of fourscore; yet, seeing the necessity and danger of the times, he was willing to risk all inconveniencies, and, without alleging any excuse, immediately took upon him the command, and made the levies. As he knew the chief force of the barbarians lay in their swords, which they managed without art or skill, furiously rushing in, and aiming chiefly at the head and shoulders, he furnished most of his men with helmets of well-polished iron, that the swords might either break or glance aside; and round the borders of their shields he drew a plate of brass, because the wood of itself could not resist the strokes. Beside this, he taught them to avail themselves of long pikes, by

* He pretended to find something amiss in the auspices which were taken when he was appointed.

† It was eleven years after. Popilius Lænas fined him ten thousand sesterces for being possessed of a thousand acres of land, in conjunction with his son, whom he had emancipated for that purpose. Liv. lib. vii. c. 16.

by puſhing with which they might prevent the effect of the enemy's ſwords.

When the Gauls were arrived at the river Anio with their army, encumbered with the vaſt booty they had made, Camillus drew out his forces, and poſted them upon a hill of eaſy aſcent, in which were many hollows, ſufficient to conceal the greateſt part of his men, while thoſe that were in ſight ſhould ſeem through fear to have taken advantage of the higher grounds. And the more to fix this opinion in the Gauls, he oppoſed not the depredations committed in his ſight, but remained quietly in the camp he had fortified, while he had beheld part of them diſperſed in order to plunder, and part indulging themſelves, day and night, in drinking and revelling. At laſt, he ſent out the light-armed infantry before day, to prevent the enemy's drawing up in a regular manner, and to harraſs them by ſudden ſkirmiſhing as they iſſued out of their trenches; and as ſoon as it was light he led down the heavy-armed, and put them in battle-array upon the plain, neither few in number nor diſheartened, as the Gauls expected, but numerous and full of ſpirits.

This was the firſt thing that ſhook their reſolution, for they conſidered it as a diſgrace to have the Romans the aggreſſors. Then the light-armed falling upon them before they could get into order and rank themſelves by companies, preſſed them ſo warmly, that they were obliged to come in great confuſion to the engagement. Laſt of all, Camillus leading on the heavy-armed, the Gauls with brandiſhed ſwords haſtened to fight hand to hand; but the Romans meeting the ſtrokes with their pikes, and receiving them on that part that was guarded with iron, ſo turned their ſwords, which were thin and ſoft tempered, that they were ſoon bent almoſt double; and their ſhields were pierced and weighed down with the pikes that ſtuck in them. They, therefore, quitted their own arms, and endeavoured to ſeize thoſe of the enemy, and to wreſt their pikes from them. The Romans ſeeing them naked, now began to make uſe of their ſwords, and made great carnage among the foremoſt ranks. Mean time the reſt took to flight, and were ſcattered along the plain; for Camillus had before-hand ſecured the heights; and, as in confidence of victory they had left their camp unfortified, they knew it would be taken with eaſe.

(N. D. 1794.)

This battle is ſaid to have been fought thirteen years after the taking of Rome *; and in conſequence of this ſucceſs, the Romans laid aſide, for the future, the diſmal apprehenſions they had entertained of the barbarians. They had imagined, it ſeems, that the former victory they had gained over the Gauls, was owing to the ſickneſs that prevailed in their army, and to other unforeſeen accidents, rather than to their own valour: and ſo great had their terror been formerly, that they had made a law, *that the prieſts ſhould be exempted from military ſervice, except in caſe of an invaſion from the Gauls.*

This was the laſt of Camillus's martial exploits. For the taking of Velitræ was a direct conſequence of this victory, and it ſurrendered without the leaſt reſiſtance. But the greateſt conflict he ever experienced in the ſtate, ſtill remained: For the people were harder to deal with ſince they returned victorious, and they inſiſted that one of the conſuls ſhould be choſen out of their body, contrary to the preſent conſtitution. The ſenate oppoſed them, and would not ſuffer Camillus to reſign the dictatorſhip, thinking they could better defend the rights of the nobility under the ſanction of his ſupreme authority. But one day, as Camillus was ſitting in the *forum*, and employed in the diſtribution of juſtice, an officer, ſent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow him, and laid his hand upon him, as if he would ſeize and carry him away. Upon this ſuch a noiſe and tumult was raiſed in the aſſembly, as never had been known; thoſe that were about Camillus thruſting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the populace calling out to drag the dictator from his ſeat. In this caſe Camillus was much embarraſſed; he did not, however, reſign the dictatorſhip, but led off the patricians to the ſenate-houſe. Before he entered it, he turned towards the capitol, and prayed to the gods to put a happy end to the preſent diſturbances, ſolemnly vowing to build a temple to *Concord*, when the tumult ſhould be over.

In the ſenate there was a diverſity of opinions and great debates. Mild and popular counſels, however, prevailed,

* This battle was fought, not thirteen, but twenty-three years after the taking of Rome.

prevailed, which allowed one of the consuls to be a plebeian *. When the dictator announced this decree to the people, they received it with great satisfaction, as it was natural they should; they were immediately reconciled to the senate, and conducted Camillus home with great applause. Next day the people assembled, and voted that the temple which Camillus had vowed to *Concord*, should, on account of this great event, be built on a spot that fronted the *forum* and place of assembly. To those feasts which are called *latin* they added one day more, so that the whole was to consist of four days; and for the present they ordained that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of the nobility, and Lucius Sextius from the commonalty, the first plebeian that ever attained that honour.

This was the last of Camillus's transactions. The year following a pestilence visited Rome, which carried off a prodigious number of the people, most of the magistrates, and Camillus himself. His death could not be deemed premature, on account of his great age and the offices he had borne, yet was he more lamented than all the rest of the citizens who died of that distemper.

* The people having gained this point, the consulate was revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever. But at the same time the patricians procured the great privilege that a new officer, called *prætor*, should be appointed, who was to be always one of their body. The consuls had been generals of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs, but as they were often in the field, it was thought proper to separate the latter branch from their office, and appropriate it to a judge with the title of *prætor*, who was to be next in dignity to the consuls. About the year of Rome 501, another *prætor* was appointed, to decide the differences among foreigners. Upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia two more *prætors* were created, and as many more upon the conquest of Spain.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL TANJORE

PERICLES.

PERICLES.

WHEN Cæſar happened to ſee ſome ſtrangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly careſſing them, he aſked, "Whether the wo- "men in their country never bore any children;" thus reproving with a proper ſeverity thoſe who laviſh upon brutes that natural tenderneſs which is due only to mankind. In the ſame manner we muſt condemn thoſe who employ that curioſity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in the human ſoul, upon low and worthleſs objects, while they neglect ſuch as are excellent and uſeful. Our ſenſes, indeed, by an effect almoſt mechanical, are paſſive to the impreſſion of outward objects, whether agreeable or offenſive: but the mind, poſſeſſed of a ſelf-directing power, may turn its attention to whatever it thinks proper. It ſhould, therefore, be employed in the moſt uſeful purſuits, not barely in contemplation, but in ſuch contemplation as may nouriſh its faculties. For as that colour is beſt ſuited to the eye, which by its beauty and agreeableneſs, at the ſame time both refreſhes and ſtrengthens the ſight, ſo the application of the mind ſhould be directed to thoſe ſubjects, which through the channel of pleaſure may lead us to our proper happineſs. Such are the works of virtue. The very deſcription of theſe, inſpires us with emulation, and a ſtrong deſire to imitate them; whereas in other things, admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire; but on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often deſpiſe the workman. Thus we are pleaſed with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antiſthenes *, therefore, when he was told that Iſmenias played excellently upon the flute, anſwered properly enough, "Then he is good for nothing elſe; otherwiſe "he would not have played ſo well." Such alſo was Philip's ſaying to his ſon, when at a certain entertainment

* Antiſthenes was a diſciple of Socrates, and founder of the ſect of the Cynics.

ment he ſang in a very agreeable and ſkilful manner, "Are not you aſhamed to ſing ſo well?" It is enough for a prince to beſtow a vacant hour upon hearing others ſing, and he does the muſes ſufficient honour, if he attends the performances of thoſe who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himſelf to ſervile or mechanic employments, his induſtry in thoſe things is a proof of his inattention to nobler ſtudies. No young man of noble birth or liberal ſentiments, from ſeeing the Jupiter at Piſa, would deſire to be Phidias, or from the ſight of the Juno at Argos, to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilochus, though delighted with their poems *. For though a work may be agreeable, yet eſteem of the author is not the neceſſary conſequence. We may therefore conclude, that things of this kind which excite not a ſpirit of emulation, nor produce any ſtrong impulſe or deſire to imitate them, are of little uſe to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that at the ſame time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wiſh to enjoy, virtue we deſire to practiſe; the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others ſhould receive from us. The beauty of goodneſs has an attractive power; it kindles in us at once an active principle; it forms our manners, and influences our deſires, not only when repreſented in a living example, but even in an hiſtorical deſcription.

For this reaſon we choſe to proceed in writing the lives of great men, and have compoſed this tenth book, which contains the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus who carried on the war againſt Hannibal; men who reſembled each other in many virtues, particularly in juſtice and moderation, and who effectually ſerved their reſpective commonwealths, by patiently enduring the injurious and capricious treatment they received from their colleagues

* This ſeems to be ſomewhat inconſiſtent with that reſpect and eſteem, in which the noble arts of poetry and ſculpture were held in ancient Greece and Rome, and with that admiration which the proficients in thoſe arts always obtain among the people. But there was ſtill a kind of jealouſy between the poets and philoſophers, and our philoſophical biographer ſhews pretty clearly by the Platonic parade of this introduction, that he would magnify the latter at the expence of the former.

leagues and their countrymen. Whether we are right in our judgment or not, will be easy to see in the work itself.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens both by the father and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people, and the safety of the state. She dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days after brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well turned, but his head was disproportionably long. For this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus or *onion-head*, for the word *schinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla* a *sea-onion*. Cratinus, the comic writer, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage.

> FACTION receiv'd old TIME to her embraces;
> Hence came a tyrant-spawn, on earth called Pericles,
> In heaven the *head-compeller*.

And again in his *Nemesis* he thus addresses him,

> Come, blessed Jove *, the high and mighty HEAD,
> The friend of hospitality!

And Teleclides says,

> Now, in a maze of thought, he ruminates
> On strange expedients, while his HEAD, depress'd
> With its own weight, sinks on his knees: and now
> From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth
> Storms and fierce thunders.

And

* Pericles (as Plutarch afterwards observes) was called *Olympius* or Jupiter. The poet here addresses him under that character with the epithet of *μακαριε*, which signifies *blessed*, but may also signify *great-headed*. In our language we have no word with such a double meaning. Just above, he is called *Cephalegeretes*, *head-compeller*, (as if his head was an assemblage of many heads) instead of *Nephelegeretes*, *cloud-compeller*, a common epithet of Jupiter.

And Eupolis, in his *Demi*, aſking news of all the great orators, whom he repreſented as aſcending from the ſhades below, when Pericles comes up laſt, cries out,

> HEAD of the tribes that haunt thoſe ſpacious realms,
> Does he aſcend?

Moſt writers agree, that the maſter who taught him muſic was called Damon, the firſt ſyllable of whoſe name they tell us, is to be pronounced ſhort: but Ariſtotle informs us, that he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he ſeems to have been a politician, who under the pretence of teaching muſic, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar: and he attended Pericles as his tutor and aſſiſtant in politics, in the ſame manner as a maſter of the gymnaſtic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. However, Damon's giving leſſons upon the harp was diſcovered to be a mere pretext, and, as a buſy politician and friend to tyranny, he was baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. Nor was he ſpared by the comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a perſon addreſſing him thus,

> Inform me, Damon, firſt, does fame ſay true?
> And waſt thou really *Pericles's Chiron* *?

Pericles alſo attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea †, who in natural philoſophy, was a follower of Parmenides, and, who, by much practice in the art of diſputing, had learned to confound and ſilence all his opponents; as Timon the Phliaſian declares in theſe verſes,

Have

* The word *Chiron* again is ambiguous, and may either ſignify, *waſt thou præceptor to* Pericles? or, *waſt thou more wicked than* Pericles?

† This Zeno was of Elea, a town of Italy, and a Phocian colony; and muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from Zeno the founder of the ſect of the Stoics. The Zeno here ſpoken of was reſpectable for attempting to rid his country of a tyrant. The tyrant took him, and cauſed him to be pounded to death in a mortar. But his death accompliſhed what he could not effect in his life-time: for his fellow-citizens were ſo much incenſed at the dreadful manner of it, that they fell upon the tyrant and ſtoned him. As to his arguments, and thoſe of his maſter Parmenides, pretended to be ſo invincible, one of them was to prove there can be no ſuch thing as motion, ſince a thing can neither move in the place where it is, nor in the place where it is not. But this ſophiſm is eaſily refuted; for motion is the paſſing of a thing or perſon INTO a new part of ſpace.

Have you not heard of Zeno's mighty powers,
Who could change ſides, yet changing triumph'd ſtill
In the tongue's wars.

But the philoſopher with whom he was moſt intimately acquainted, who gave him that force and ſublimity of ſentiment ſuperior to all the demagogues, who, in ſhort, formed him to that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of thoſe times called *nous* or *intelligence*, either in admiration of his great underſtanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or becauſe he was the firſt who clearly proved, that the univerſe owed its formation, neither to chance nor neceſſity, but to a pure and unmixed MIND, who ſeparated the homogeneous parts from the other with which they were confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philoſopher, and inſtructed by him in the ſublimeſt ſciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of ſentiment, and a loftineſs and purity of ſtyle, far removed from the low expreſſion of the vulgar, but likewiſe a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an eaſy deportment, and a decency of dreſs, which no vehemence of ſpeaking ever put into diſorder. Theſe things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that ſaw him.

Such was his conduct, when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuſe; he bore it with patience and ſilence, and continued in public for the deſpatch of ſome urgent affairs. In the evening he walked ſoftly home, this impudent wretch following, and inſulting him all the way with the moſt ſcurrilous language. And as it was dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his ſervants to take a torch and light the man home. The poet Ion, however, ſays he was proud and ſupercilious in converſation, and that there was a great deal of vanity and contempt of others, mixed with his dignity of manner: on the other hand he highly extols the civility, complaiſance, and politeneſs of Cimon. But to take no farther notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear, without a mixture of ſomething ſatirical, as it was in the

ancient

ancient tragedy*; Zeno desired those that called the gravity of Pericles pride and arrogance, to be proud the same way; telling them, the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome those terrors which the various phænomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which instead of the frightful extravagancies of superstition, implants in us a sober piety supported by a rational hope.

We are told, there was brought to Pericles, from one of his farms, a ram's head with only one horn; and Lampo the soothsayer observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared, that the two parties in the state, namely those of Thucydides and Pericles, would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found; but Anaxagoras having dissected the head, shewed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and, pointed directly to that part of the skull whence the horn took its rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was no less honoured for his prediction, when, soon after, upon the fall of Thucydides, the administration was put entirely into the hands of Pericles.

But, in my opinion, the philosopher and the diviner may well enough be reconciled, and both be right; the one discovering the cause and the other the end. It was the business of the former to account for the appearance, and to consider how it came about; and of the latter to shew,

* Tragedy at first was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus. Persons dressed like satyrs were the performers, and they often broke out into the most licentious raillery. Afterwards, when tragedy took a graver turn, something of the former drollery was still retained, as in that which we call tragi-comedy. In time, serious characters and events became the subject of tragedy, without that mixture; but even then, after exhibiting three or four serious tragedies, the poets used to conclude their contention for the prize, with a satirical one; of this sort is the Cyclops of Euripides, and the only one remaining.

ſhew why it was ſo formed, and what it portended.—Thoſe who ſay, that when the cauſe is found out the prodigy ceaſes, do not conſider, that if they reject ſuch ſigns as are preternatural, they muſt alſo deny that artificial ſigns are of any uſe: the clattering of braſs quoits *, the light of beacons, and the ſhadow of a ſun-dial, have all of them their proper natural cauſes, and yet each has another ſignification. But perhaps this queſtion might be more properly diſcuſſed in another place.

Pericles in his youth ſtood in great fear of the people. For in his countenance he was like Piſiſtratus the tyrant; and he perceived the old men were much ſtruck with a farther reſemblance in the ſweetneſs of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundneſs of his periods. As, he was moreover of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the moſt conſiderable men in the ſtate, he dreaded the ban of oſtraciſm, and therefore intermeddled not with ſtate-affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Ariſtides was dead, Themiſtocles baniſhed, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a diſtance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the adminiſtration. He choſe rather to ſolicit the favour of the multitude and the poor †, than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It ſeems he was apprehenſive of falling under the ſuſpicion of aiming at the ſupreme power, and was ſenſible, beſides,

* The clattering of braſs quoits or plates was ſometimes a military ſignal among the Grecians. Among the Romans it was a ſignal to call the wreſtlers to the ring.

† The popular party in Athens were continually making efforts againſt thoſe ſmall remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility. As Pericles could not lead the party of the nobles, becauſe Cimon, by the dignity of his birth, the luſtre of his actions, and the largeneſs of his eſtate, had placed himſelf at their head; he had no other reſource than to court the populace. And he flattered their favourite paſſion in the moſt agreeable manner, by leſſening the power and privileges of the court of Areopagus, which was the chief ſupport of the nobility, and indeed of the whole ſtate. Thus the bringing of almoſt all cauſes before the tribunal of the people, the multiplying of gratuities, which were only another word for bribes, and the giving the people a taſte for expenſive pleaſures, cauſed the downfall of the Athenian commonwealth; though the perſonal abilities of Pericles ſupported it during his time.

besides that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence; and therefore, in order to secure himself, and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time he entirely changed his manner of living. He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; insomuch that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends, but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew Euryptolemus, and he staid there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears; and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals: Nor did he speak to all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley *, (as Critolaus says) for greater occasions; despatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. On which account the comic writers speak of the people of Athens, as of a horse wild and unmanaged,

———which listens to the reins no more,
But in his madd'ning course bears headlong down
The very friends that feed him.

* The Salaminian galley was a consecrated vessel which the Athenians never made use of but on extraordinary occasions. They sent it, for instance, for a general whom they wanted to call to account, or with sacrifices to Apollo, or some other deity.

† The former English translator takes no manner of notice of δακνειν την Ευβοιαν και ταις νησοις επιπηδαν, *bites* Euboea, *and in-*

sults

Pericles, defirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his fublime fentiments, and to fpeak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himfelf greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philofophy. For, adding (as the divine Plato expreffes it) the loftinefs of imagination, and all commanding energy, with which philofophy fupplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making ufe of whatever he found to his purpofe, in the ftudy of nature, to dignify the art of fpeaking, he far excelled all other orators *. Hence he is faid to have gained the furname of *Olympius;* though fome will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city; and others, from his high authority both in peace and war. There appears, indeed, no abfurdity in fuppofing that all thefe things might contribute to that glorious diftinction. Yet the ftrokes of fatire, both ferious and ludicrous, in the comedies of thofe times, indicate that this title was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence. For they tell us that in his harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the fon of Milefius, is faid to have given a pleafant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and refpectable man, who for a long time oppofed the meafures of Pericles: And when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, afked him, "Which was the beft "wreftler, Pericles, or he?" he anfwered, "When I "throw him, he fays he was never down, and he per-"fuades the very fpectators to believe fo."

Yet fuch was the folicitude of Pericles when he had to fpeak in public, that he always firft addreffed a prayer to the gods †, "That not a word might unawares efcape "him unfuitable to the occafion." He left nothing in writing

fults the iflands; though the paffage is pregnant with fenfe. Athens, in the wantonnefs of power, infulted Eubœa, which was her granary, and the Ægean iflands, which contributed greatly to her commerce and her wealth.

* Plato obferves, on the fame occafion, that an orator as well as a phyfician ought to have a general knowledge of nature.

† Quintilian fays, he prayed, that not a word might efcape him difagreeable to the people. And this is the more probable account of the matter, becaufe (according to Suidas) Pericles wrote down his orations before he pronounced them in public; and, indeed was the firft who did fo.

writing, but ſome public decrees; and only a few of his ſayings are recorded. He uſed to ſay (for inſtance) that "The iſle of Ægina ſhould not be ſuffered to remain an "eye-ſore to the Piræus:" and that "He ſaw a war "approaching from Peleponneſus." And when Sophocles, who went in joint command with him upon an expedition at ſea, happened to praiſe the beauty of a certain boy, he ſaid, "A general, my friend, ſhould not "only have pure hands, but pure eyes." Steſimbrotus produces this paſſage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in memory of thoſe Athenians who fell in the Samian war, "They are become immortal like the "gods: For the gods themſelves are not viſible to us; "but from the honours they receive, and the happineſs "they enjoy, we conclude they are immortal; and ſuch "ſhould thoſe brave men be who die for their country."

Thucydides repreſents the adminiſtration of Pericles as favouring ariſtocracy, and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engroſſed the whole authority.— Many other writers likewiſe inform us, that by him the people were firſt indulged with a diviſion of lands, were treated at the public expence with theatrical diverſions, and were paid for the moſt common ſervices to the ſtate. As this new indulgence from the governmeut was an impolitic cuſtom, which rendered the people expenſive and luxurious, and deſtroyed that frugality and love of labour which ſupported them before, it is proper that we ſhould trace the effect to its cauſe, by a retroſpect into the circumſtances of the republic.

At firſt, as we have obſerved, to raiſe himſelf to ſome ſort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his ſuperior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the neceſſitous, and clothing the aged; and, beſides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit; Pericles had recourſe to the expedient of dividing the public treaſure; which ſcheme, as Ariſtotle informs us, was propoſed to him by Demonides of Jos* Accordingly, by

* Jos was one of the iſles called Sporades, in the Ægean ſea, and celebrated for the tomb of Homer. But ſome learned men are of opinion,

ſupplying the people with money for the public diverſions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature *, and by other penſions and gratuities, he ſo inveigled them as to avail himſelf of their intereſt againſt the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be choſen *archon*, *Theſmothetes*, *King of the ſacred rites*, or *Polemarch*. For perſons were of old appointed to theſe offices by lot; and ſuch as had diſcharged them well, and ſuch only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity raiſed a party againſt that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognizance of many cauſes that had been under their juriſdiction. He likewiſe cauſed Cimon to be baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm*, as an enemy to the people †, and a friend to the Lacedæmonians: a man who in birth and fortune had no ſuperior, who had gained very glorius victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other ſpoils, as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's baniſhment, as it was by *Oſtraciſm*, was limited by law to ten years. Mean time, the Lacedæmonians with a great army entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out againſt them, Cimon returned, and placed himſelf in the ranks with thoſe of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aſperſion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulſed as

opinion that inſtead of Iηθεν, we ſhould read Oιηθεν, and that Demonides was not of the iſland of Jos, but of Oia, which was a borough in Attica.

* There were ſeveral courts of judicature in Athens, compoſed of a certain number of the citizens; who ſometimes received one *obolus*, each for every cauſe they tried; and ſometimes men who aimed at popularity procured this fee to be increaſed.

† His treaſon againſt the ſtate was pretended to conſiſt in receiving preſents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed on to let ſlip the opportunity he had to enlarge the Athenian conqueſts, after he had taken the gold mines of Thrace.— Cimon anſwered, that he had proſecuted the war to the utmoſt of his power againſt the Thracians and their other enemies; but that he had made no inroads into Macedonia, becauſe he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind.

as an exile. This ſeems to have been the cauſe that Pericles exerted himſelf in a particular manner in that battle, and expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accuſed as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: And the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a ſtill ſharper conflict in the ſummer, grievouſly repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, ſenſible of the people's inclinations, did not heſitate to gratify them, but himſelf propoſed a decree for recalling Cimon; and, at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as averſion for Pericles and the other demagogues. But ſome authors write, that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return, till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's ſiſter Elpinice, that Cimon ſhould have the command abroad, and with two hundred galleys lay waſte the king of Perſia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home. A ſtory goes, that Elpinice before this, had ſoftened the reſentment of Pericles againſt Cimon, and procured her brother a milder ſentence than that of death. Pericles was one of thoſe appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and when Elpinice addreſſed him as a ſuppliant, he ſmiled and ſaid, "You are old, Elpinice; much too old to ſolicit in ſo weighty an affair." However, he roſe up but once to ſpeak, barely to acquit himſelf of his truſt, and did not bear ſo hard upon Cimon as the reſt of his accuſers *. Who then can give credit to Idomeneus, when he ſays, that Pericles cauſed the orator Ephialtes, his friend and aſſiſtant in the adminiſtration, to be aſſaſſinated, through jealouſy and envy of his great character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he vents with great bitterneſs againſt a man, not indeed, in all reſpects irreproachable, but who certainly had ſuch a greatneſs of mind, and high ſenſe of honour, as was incompatible with an action ſo ſavage and inhuman. The The truth of the matter, according to Ariſtotle, is, that Ephialtes

* Yet Cimon was fined fifty talents, or 9687*l.* 10*s.* ſterling, and narrowly eſcaped a capital ſentence, having only a majority of three votes to prevent it.

Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible ſeverity in proſecuting all that invaded the rights of the people, his enemies cauſed him to be taken off in a private and treacherous manner, by Ariſtodicus of Tanagra.

About the ſame time died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which ſet him far above the other citizens, were deſirous of having ſome perſon to oppoſe him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making himſelf abſolute. For this purpoſe they ſet up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but was ſuperior to him in forenſic and political abilities; and, by reſiding conſtantly in Athens, and oppoſing Pericles in the general aſſembly, he ſoon brought the government to an *equilibrium*. For he did not ſuffer perſons of ſuperior rank to be diſperſed and confounded with the reſt of the people, becauſe in that caſe their dignity was obſcured and loſt; but collected them into a ſeparate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and ſufficient weight thrown into their ſcale. There was, indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful ſeparation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the ariſtocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided: but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the conteſt between them, had ſo extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one of the parts was called the *people*, and the other the *nobility*. For this reaſon, Pericles, more than ever, gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with them, contriving to have always ſome ſhew, or play, or feaſt, or proceſſion in the city, and to amuſe it with the politeſt pleaſures.

As another means of employing their attention, he ſent out ſixty galleys every year, manned for eight months*, with a conſiderable number of the citizens, who were both

* Some inſtead of μηνας, read μνας; and, according to this reading, the paſſage muſt be tranſlated, *manned with —— the citizens, whoſe pay was eight minæ, and who at the ſame time improved*, &c.

both paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners. He likewise sent a colony of a thousand men to the Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxos, two hundred and fifty to Andros, a thousand into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris, and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did, to clear the city of an useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous; and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon "the Athenians by removing the public treasures of "Greece from Delos, and taking them into his own "custody: That he had not left himself even the specious apology, of having caused the money to be "brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep "it from being seized by the barbarians: That Greece "must needs consider it as the highest insult, and an act "of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been "obliged to contribute towards the war, lavished by the "Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it "with statues, and temples that cost a thousand talents*, "as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with "jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had "kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, "ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is "no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is "received. That as the state was provided with all the "necessaries

* The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, is said to have cost a thousand talents.

"necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid "out on such works as when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their "execution, would diffuse an universal plenty; for as "so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and "be at the same time both adorned and supported by "itself." Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength, were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheel-wrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders: and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus works were raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution; yet still the most wonderful circumstance was the expedition with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of one prosperous man.

It is said, that when Agatharcus the painter valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he despatched his pieces; Zeuxis replied, "If I boast, it shall "be of the slowness with which I finish mine." For ease and speed in the execution seldom give a work any lasting importance, or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand,

hand, the time which is expended in labour, is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence we have the more reason to wonder, that the ftructures raifed by Pericles fhould be built in fo fhort a time, and yet built for ages: for as each of them, as foon as finifhed, had the venerable air of antiquity; fo, now they are old, they have the frefhnefs of a modern building. A bloom is diffufed over them, which preferves their afpect untarnifhed by time, as if they were animated with a fpirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.

Phidias was appointed by Pericles fuperintendant of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The *Parthenon*, or temple of *Pallas*, whofe dimenfions had been a hundred feet fquare *, was re-built by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiation at Eleufis, but only lived to finifh the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the reft of the entablature, and the upper row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates fays he heard Pericles propofe to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very flowly:

Stones upon ftones the orator has pil'd,
With fwelling words, but words will build no walls.

The *Odeum*, or mufic-theatre, which was likewife built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of feats and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the king of Perfia's pavilion. Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called *Thrattæ*:

As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;
As Pericles, a whole orcheftre bears;
Afraid of broils and banifhment no more,
He tunes the fhell he trembled at before!

 Pericles

* It was called *Hecatompedon*, becaufe it had been originally a hundred feet fquare. And having been burnt by the Perfians, it was rebuilt by Pericles, and retained that name after it was greatly enlarged.

Pericles at this time exerted all his intereſt to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the beſt performer in muſic during the *Panathenæa*; and, he was himſelf appointed judge and diſtributer of the prizes, he gave the contending artiſts directions in what manner to proceed, whether their performance was vocal, or on the flute or lyre. From that time the prizes in muſic were always contended for in the *odeum*.

The veſtibule of the citadel was finiſhed in five years by Mneſicles the architect. A wonderful event that happened while the work was in hand, ſhewed that the goddeſs was not averſe to the work, but rather took it into her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the beſt and moſt active of the workmen, miſſing his ſtep fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruiſed in ſuch a manner that his life was deſpaired of by the phyſicians. Pericles was greatly concerned at this accident; but, in the midſt of his affliction, the goddeſs appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of a remedy, which he applied, and thereby ſoon recovered the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar, (which is ſaid to have been there before) a brazen ſtatue of the *Minerva of health*. The golden ſtatue of the ſame goddeſs *, was the workmanſhip of Phidias, and his name is inſcribed upon the pedeſtal, (as we have already obſerved) through the friendſhip of Pericles, he had the direction of every thing, and all the artiſts received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other ſlandered; and it was intimated that Phidias received into his houſe ladies for Pericles, who came thither under pretence of ſeeing his works. The comic poets, getting hold of this ſtory, repreſented him as a perfect libertine. They accuſed him of an intrigue with the wife of Menippus, his friend and lieutenant in the army: and

* This ſtatue was of gold and ivory. Pauſanias has given us a deſcription of it. The goddeſs was repreſented ſtanding, cloathed in a tunic that reached down to the foot. On her *Ægis*, or breaſtplate, was Meduſa's head in ivory, and *victory*. She held a ſpear in her hand; and at her feet lay a buckler, and a dragon, ſuppoſed to be Erichthonius. The ſphynx was repreſented on the middle of her helmet, with a griffin on each ſide. This ſtatue was thirty-nine feet high; the *victory* on the breaſt-plate was about four cubits; and forty talents of gold were employed upon it.

and becauſe Pyrilampes, another intimate acquaintance of his, had a collection of curious birds, and particularly of peacocks, it was ſuppoſed that he kept them only for preſents for thoſe women who granted favours to Pericles. But what wonder is it, if men of a ſatirical turn, daily ſacrifice the characters of the great to that malevolent Dæmon, the envy of the multitude; when Steſimbrotus of Thaſos has dared to lodge againſt Pericles that horrid and groundleſs accuſation of corrupting his ſon's wife? ſo difficult is it to come at truth in the walk of hiſtory; ſince, if the writers live after the events they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of facts, and if they deſcribe the perſons and tranſactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or by intereſt and friendſhip to vitiate and pervert the truth.

The orators of Thucydides's party raiſed a clamour againſt Pericles, aſſerting, that he waſted the public treaſure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles in his defence aſked the people in full aſſembly, "Whether "they thought he had expended too much?" upon their anſwering in the affirmative, "Then be it," ſaid he, "charged to my account*, not yours: only let the "new edifices be inſcribed with my name, not that of "the people of Athens." Whether it was that they admired the greatneſs of his ſpirit, or were ambitious to ſhare the glory of ſuch magnificent works, they cried out, "That he might ſpend as much as he pleaſed of the "public treaſure, without ſparing it in the leaſt."

At laſt the conteſt came on between him and Thucydides, which of them ſhould be baniſhed by the *oſtraciſm*: Pericles gained the victory, baniſhed his adverſary, and entirely

* It appears from a paſſage in Thucydides, that the public ſtock of the Athenians, amounted to nine thouſand ſeven hundred talents, (or one million eight hundred ſeventy-five thouſand nine hundred and fifty pounds ſterling) of which, Pericles had laid out in thoſe public buildings, three thouſand ſeven hundred talents. It is natural, therefore, to aſk, how he could tell the people that it ſhould be at his own expence, eſpecially ſince Plutarch tells us in the ſequel, that he had not in the leaſt improved the eſtate left him by his father? To which the true anſwer probably is, that Pericles was politician enough to know that the vanity of the Athenians would never let them agree that he ſhould inſcribe the new magnificent buildings with his name, in excluſion of theirs; or he might venture to ſay any thing, being ſecure of a majority of votes to be given as he pleaſed.

entirely defeated his party. The oppoſition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongſt all ranks of people, Pericles became ſole maſter of Athens, and its dependencies. The revenues, the army, and navy; the iſlands and the ſea; a moſt extenſive territory, peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of ſubject nations, the friendſhip of kings and alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man; he was no longer ſo obſequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted; the government in fact was not popular; its looſe and luxuriant harmony was confined to ſtricter meaſures, and it aſſumed an ariſtocratical or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and purſued the ſtraight path of honour. For the moſt part gently leading them by argument to a ſenſe of what was right, and ſometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage; in this reſpect imitating a good phyſician, who in the various ſymptoms of a long diſeaſe, ſometimes adminiſters medicines tolerably agreeable, and, at other times, ſharp and ſtrong ones, when ſuch alone are capable of reſtoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controuling thoſe many diſorderly paſſions which neceſſarily ſpring up amongſt a people poſſeſſed of ſo extenſive a dominion. The two engines he worked with were hope and fear; with theſe, repreſſing their violence when they were too impetuous, and ſupporting their ſpirits when inclined to languor, he made it appear that *rhetoric is* (as Plato defined it) *the art of ruling the minds of men,* and that its principal province conſiſts in moving the paſſions and affections of the ſoul, which, like ſo many ſtrings in a muſical inſtrument, require the touch of a maſterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone ſufficient, but (as Thucydides obſerves) the orator was a man of probity and unblemiſhed reputation. Money could not bribe him; he was ſo much above the deſire of it, that though he added greatly to the opulence of the ſtate, which he found not inconſiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, ſome of whom have bequeathed to their poſterity, the ſovereignty

reignty they had obtained, yet he added not one *drachma* to his paternal estate.

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles, but the comic writers abuse him in a most malignant manner, giving his friends the name of the *new pisistratidæ*, and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to make himself absolute, since his authority was already much too great and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says, the Athenians had given up to him

> The tribute of the states, the states themselves,
> To bind, to loose; to build and to destroy;
> In peace, in war to govern; nay, to rule
> Their very fate, like some superior being.

And this not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration; but for forty years together he held the pre-eminence, amidst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides; and continued it no less than fifteen years after the fall and banishment of the latter. The power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centered in him, yet still he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances; but, on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it, as he had not much time to spare, he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up, and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one: they complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous œconomy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses, and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expences being so nicely adjusted to the income.

The person who managed these concerns with so much exactness, was a servant of his named Evangelus, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature, or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed, considered these lower

lower attentions as inconſiſtent with his wiſdom. Following the dictates of enthuſiaſm, and wrapt up in ſublime inquiries, he quitted his houſe, and left his lands untilled and deſolate. But, in my opinion, there is an eſſential difference between a ſpeculative and a practical philoſopher. The former advances his ideas into the regions of ſcience without the aſſiſtance of any thing corporeal or external; the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the uſe of mankind, and riches afford him not only neceſſary but excellent aſſiſtance. Thus it was with Pericles, who by his wealth was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of ſuch prudential regards, this very Anaxagoras, we are told, lay neglected and unprovided for, inſomuch that the poor old man had covered up his head and was going to ſtarve himſelf*. But an account of it being brought to Pericles, he was extremely moved at it, ran immediately to him, expoſtulated, intreated; bewailing not ſo much the fate of his friend as his own, if his adminiſtration ſhould loſe ſo valuable a counſellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied, "Ah Pericles! thoſe "that have need of a lamp, take care to ſupply it with "oil."

By this time, the Lacedæmonians began to expreſs ſome jealouſy of the Athenian greatneſs, and Pericles willing to advance it ſtill higher, and to make the people more ſenſible of their importance and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order, that all the Greeks, whereſoever they reſided, whether in Europe or in Aſia, whether their cities were ſmall or great, ſhould ſend deputies to Athens to conſult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burnt, and about providing thoſe ſacrifices which had been vowed during the Perſian war, for the preſervation of Greece; and likewiſe to enter into ſuch meaſures as might ſecure navigation and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty perſons, each upwards of fifty years of age, were ſent with this propoſal to the different ſtates of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in

* It was cuſtomary among the antients for a perſon who was determined to put an end to his life to cover up his head; whether he devoted himſelf to death for the ſervice of his country, or being weary of his being, bade the world adieu.

in Asia, and the islanders as far as Lesbos, and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phocis and Peloponnesus, and from thence, by Locri along the adjoining continent, to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were despatched through Eubœa to the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oetra and near the Maliac Bay, to the Phithiotæ, the Achæans * and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece †. It took not effect, however, nor did the cities send their deputies; the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians ‡, for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give account of it as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men, because their rash enterprises have been attended with success; he always told the Athenians, "That as far as their fate "depended upon him, they should be immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that, over and above the regular troops, he had persuaded the bravest and most spirited of the Athenian youth, to the number of a thousand, to go volunteers in that expedition, he addressed him in public and tried to divert him from it, making use, among the rest, of those well-known words, "If you regard not the opinion of "Pericles,

R 5

* By *Achæans* we are sometimes to understand the Greeks in general, especially in the writings of the poets; and sometimes the inhabitants of a particular district in Peloponnesus: but neither of these can be the meaning in this place. We must here understand a people of Thessaly, called *Achæans*. Vide *Steph. Byz. in voce* Φοςβας.

† Καινοπραγια.

‡ It is no wonder that the Lacedæmonians opposed this undertaking, since the giving way to it would have been acknowledging the Athenians as masters of all Greece. Indeed, the Athenians should not have attempted it, without an order or decree of the Amphictyons.

"Pericles, yet wait at leaſt for the advice of time who "is the beſt of all counſellors." This ſaying, for the preſent, gained no great applauſe: but when, a few days after, news was brought, that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea*, together with many of the braveſt citizens, it procured Pericles great reſpect and love from the people, who conſidered it as a proof, not only of his ſagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Cherſoneſus procured him moſt honour, becauſe it proved very ſalutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only ſtrengthened their cities with the addition of a thouſand able-bodied Athenians, but raiſed fortifications acroſs the Iſthmus from ſea to ſea; thus guarding againſt the incurſions of the Thracians who were ſpread about the Cherſoneſus, and putting an end to thoſe long and grievous wars under which that diſtrict had ſmarted by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infeſted by perſons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expidition moſt celebrated among ſtrangers, was that by ſea around Peloponneſus. He ſet ſail from Pegæ in the territories of Megara with an hundred ſhips of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces, and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns, all but the Sicyonians who made head againſt him at Nemea, and were defeated in a pitched battle; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate ſtate, he took a number of men into his gallies, and ſailed to the oppoſite ſide of the continent; then paſſing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a deſcent in Acarnania, ſhut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waſte the country, returned home. In the whole courſe of this affair, he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander; for no miſcarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Having

* This defeat happened in the ſecond year of the eighty-third olympiad, four hundred and forty-five years before the Chriſtian æra, and more than twenty years before the death of Pericles.

Having failed to Pontus with a large and well equipped fleet, he procured the Grecian cities there all the advantages they desired, and treated them with great regard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes, he made the power of Athens very respectable, by shewing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesileos their tyrant. And when the tyrant and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made, that a colony of six hundred Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in possession of those houses and lands which had belonged to the tyrants.

He did not, however, give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when elated with their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt *, and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with the unfornate passion for Sicily, which the orators of Alcibiades's party afterwards inflamed still more. Nay, some even dreamt of Hetruria † and Carthage, and not without some ground of hope, as they imagined, because of the great extent of their dominions and the successful course of of their affairs.

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant desire of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it as a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds; whom he therefore opposed, as on other occasions

* For the Athenians had been masters of Egypt, as we find in the second book of Thucydides. They were driven out of it by Megabyzus, Artaxerxes's lieutenant, in the first year of the eightieth olympiad, and it was only in the last year of the eighty-first olympiad that Pericles made that successful expedition about Peloponnesus; therefore it is not strange that the Athenians, now in the height of prosperity, talked of recovering their footing in a country which they had so lately lost.

† Hetruria seems oddly joined with Carthage; but we may consider that Hetruria was on one side of Sicily, and Carthage on the other. The Athenians, therefore, after they had devoured Sicily in their thoughts, might think of extending their conquests to the countries on the right and left; in the same manner as king Pyrrhus indulged his wild ambition to subdue Sicily, Italy, and Africa.

occasions, so particularly in the sacred war. For when the Lacedæmonians, by dint of arms, had restored the temple to the citizens of Delphi, which had been seized by the Phocians, Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither and put it into the hands of the Phocians again. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved on the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of consulting the oracle first *, Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians, to be inscribed on the wolf's right-side.

The event shewed, that he was right in confining the Athenian forces to act within the bounds of Greece. For, in the first place the Eubœans revolted, and he led an army against them. Soon after, news was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces, under the command of king Plistonax, were upon the borders of Attica. The enemy offered him battle; he did not choose, however, to risk an engagement with so numerous and resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly directed by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the *Ephori* had appointed him on account of his tender age, he attempted to bribe that counsellor, and succeeding in it to his wish, persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king, and as he was not able to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon. As for Cleandrides, who fled from justice, they condemned him to death. He was the father of Gylippus who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and who seemed to have derived the vice of avarice from him as an hereditary distemper. He was led by it into bad practices, for which he was banished with ignomy from Sparta, as we have related in the life of Lysander.

In the accounts for this campaign Pericles put down ten talents laid out *for a necessary use*, and the people allowed it, without examining the matter closely or prying

* This wolf is said to have been consecrated and placed by the side of the great altar, on occasion of a wolf's killing a thief who had robbed the temple, and leading the Delphians to the place where the treasure lay.

ing into the ſecret. According to ſome writers, and among the reſt Theophraſtus the philoſopher, Pericles ſent ten talents every year to Sparta, with which he gained all the magiſtracy, and kept them from acts of hoſtility; not that he purchaſed peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leiſure to make preparations to carry on the war afterwards with advantage.

Immediately, after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms againſt the revolters, and paſſing over into Eubœa with fifty ſhips and five thouſand men, he reduced the cities. He expelled the *Hippobotæ*, perſons diſtinguiſhed by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians; and having exterminated all the Heſtiæans, he gave their city to a colony of Athenians. The cauſe of this ſeverity was their having taken an Athenian ſhip, and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles cauſed a decree to be made for an expedition againſt Samos. The pretence he made uſe of was, that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Mileſians, had refuſed it. But as he ſeems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aſpaſia, it may not be amiſs to inquire by what art or power ſhe captivated the greateſt ſtateſmen, and brought even philoſophers to ſpeak of her ſo much to her advantage.

It is agreed, that ſhe was by birth a Mileſian *, and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the ſteps of Thargelia † who was deſcended from the ancient Ionians, and to have reſerved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who to the charms of her perſon added a peculiar politeneſs and poignant wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Perſia's intereſt all that approached her; by whoſe means, as they were perſons of eminence and authority, ſhe ſowed the ſeeds of the Median faction among the Grecian ſtates.

Some, indeed, ſay, that Pericles made his court to Aſpaſia only on account of her wiſdom and political abilities,

* Miletum, a city in Ionia, was famous for producing perſons of extraordinary abilities.

† This Thargelia, by her beauty, obtained the ſovereignty of Theſſaly. However, ſhe came to an untimely end; for ſhe was murdered by one of her lovers.

lities. Nay, even Socrates himſelf ſometimes viſited her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her diſcourſe, though the buſineſs that ſupported her was neither honourable nor decent, for ſhe kept a number of courtezans in her houſe. Æſchines informs us, that Lyſicles, who was a grazier *, and of a mean ungenerous diſpoſition, by his intercourſe with Aſpaſia after the death of Pericles, became the moſt conſiderable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humourous than ſerious, yet thus much of hiſtory we may gather from it, that many Athenians reſorted to her on account of her ſkill in the art of ſpeaking †.

I ſhould not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of ſo very delicate a kind. For, though his wife, who was his relation, and had been firſt married to Hipponicus, by whom ſhe had Callias the rich, brought him two ſons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived ſo ill together, that they parted by conſent. She was married to another, and he took Aſpaſia, for whom he had the tendereſt regard. Inſomuch, that he never went out upon buſineſs, or returned without ſaluting her. In the comedies ſhe is called the *New Omphale*, *Deianira*, and *Juno*. Cratinus plainly calls her a proſtitute,

> ——She bore this *Juno*, this *Aſpaſia*,
> Skill'd in the ſhameleſs trade and every art
> Of wantonneſs.

He ſeems alſo to have had a natural ſon by her; for he is introduced by Eupolis inquiring after him thus,

> ——Still lives the offspring of my dalliance?

Pyronides

* What the employments were to which this Lyſicles was advanced, is no where recorded.

† It is not to be imagined, that Aſpaſia excelled in light and amorous diſcourſes. Her diſcourſes, on the contrary, were not more brilliant than ſolid. It was even believed by the moſt intelligent Athenians, and amongſt them by Socrates himſelf, that ſhe compoſed the celebrated funeral oration pronounced by Pericles, in honour of thoſe that were ſlain in the Samian war. It is probable enough, that Pericles undertook that war to avenge the quarrel of the Mileſians, at the ſuggeſtion of Aſpaſia, who was of Miletum; who is ſaid to have accompanied him in that expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory.

Pyronides anſwers,

He lives, and might have borne the name of huſband,
Did he not dream that every boſom fair,
Is not a chaſte one.

Such was the fame of Aſpaſia, that Cyrus who contended with Artaxerxes for the Perſian crown, gave the name of Aſpaſia to his favourite concubine, who before was called *Milto*. This woman was born in *Phocis*, and was the daughter of Hermotimus. When Cyrus was ſlain in the battle, ſhe was carried to the king, and had afterwards great influence over him. Theſe particulars occurring to my memory as I wrote this life, I thought it would be a needleſs affectation of gravity, if not an offence againſt politeneſs, to paſs them over in ſilence.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, in favour of the Mileſians, at the inſtigation of Aſpaſia. The Mileſians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interpoſed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the deciſion of the diſpute to them: but the Samians refuſed to comply with this demand. Pericles, therefore, ſailed with a fleet to Samos, and aboliſhed the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the ſame number of children, as hoſtages, and ſent them to Lemnos. Each of theſe hoſtages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ranſom; and thoſe that were deſirous to prevent the ſettling of a democracy among them, would have given him much more *. Piſſuthnes the Perſian, who had the intereſt of the Samians at heart, likewiſe ſent him ten thouſand pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their preſents, but treated the Samians in the manner he had reſolved on; and having eſtabliſhed a popular government in the iſland, he returned to Athens.

But they ſoon revolted again, having recovered their hoſtages by ſome private meaſure of Piſſuthnes, and made

* Piſſuthnes, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was governor of Sardis, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the Samians of courſe, becauſe the principal perſons among them were in the Perſian intereſt.

made new preparations for war. Pericles coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glorious victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on board.

Pursuing his victory, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. They still retained courage enough to sally out and give him battle before the walls. Soon after a greater fleet came from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up: whereupon, Pericles took sixty galleys, and steered for the Mediterranean, with a design, as is generally supposed, to meet the Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it at a great distance from the island.

Stesimbrotus, indeed, says, he intended to sail for Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error. For as soon as he was gone, Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a man distinguished as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left, or else the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly a battle was fought, and the Samians obtained the victory; for they made many prisaners, destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they wanted. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus in a former sea-fight.

The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the insult they had received *, marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl, as the Athenians had branded them with a *Samæna*, which is a kind of ship built low in the fore-part, and wide and hollow in the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing; and it was called *Samæna* from its being invented in Samos by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks, when he says,

The Samians are a letter'd race.

As

* We have no account of these reciprocal barbarities in Thucydides.

As ſoon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, he immediately returned with ſuccours *, gave Meliſſus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it; chooſing to owe the conqueſt of it rather to time and expence, than to purchaſe it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the time ſpent in the blockade, and that it was difficult to reſtrain them from the aſſault, he divided the army into eight parts and ordered them to draw lots. That diviſion which drew a white bean, were to enjoy themſelves in eaſe and pleaſure while the others fought. Hence it is ſaid, that thoſe who ſpend the day in feaſting and merriment, call that a *white day* from the *white bean*.

Ephorus adds, that Pericles in this ſiege made uſe of battering engines, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one; and that he had *Artemon* the engineer along with him, who, on account of his lameneſs, was carried about in a litter, when his preſence was required to direct the machines, and thence had the ſurname of *Periphoretus*. But Heraclides of Pontus confutes this aſſertion by ſome verſes of Anacreon, in which mention is made of Artemon Periphoretus ſeveral ages before the Samian war and theſe tranſactions of Pericles. And he tells us this Artemon was a perſon who gave himſelf up to luxury, and was withal of a timid and effeminate ſpirit; that he ſpent moſt of his time within doors, and had a ſhield of braſs held over his head by a couple of ſlaves, leſt ſomething ſhould fall upon him. Moreover, that if he happened to be neceſſarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter, which hung ſo low as almoſt to touch the ground, and therefore was called *Periphoretus*.

After nine months the Samians ſurrendered. Pericles razed their walls, ſeized their ſhips, and laid a heavy fine upon them; part of which they paid down directly, the reſt they promiſed at a ſet time, and gave hoſtages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accuſing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus,

* On his return, he received a reinforcement of fourſcore ſhips, as Thucydides tells us; or ninety, according to Diodorus. Vid. *Thucyd.* lib. i. de Bell. Pelopon. & *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xii.

Ephorus, or Ariſtotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and ſeamen ſeems quite fictitious; he tells us, that Pericles cauſed them to be brought into the market-place at Miletus, and to be bound to poſts there for ten days together, at the end of which he ordered them, by that time in the moſt wretched condition, to be deſpatched with clubs, and refuſed their bodies the honour of burial. Duris, indeed, in his hiſtories, often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not miſled by any intereſt or paſſion, and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the ſufferings of his country, to make the Athenians appear in an odious light *.

Pericles at his return to Athens, after the reduction of Samos, celebrated in a ſplendid manner the obſequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himſelf the funeral oration, uſual on ſuch occaſions.—This gained him great applauſe; and when he came down from the roſtrum, the women paid their reſpects to him, and preſented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion juſt returned victorious from the liſts. Only Elpinice addreſſed him in terms quite different: "Are "theſe actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and "garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citi-"zens; not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, "ſuch as my brother Cimon waged, but in deſtroying a "city united to us both in blood and friendſhip?" Pericles only ſmiled, and anſwered ſoftly with this line of Archilochus,

Why laviſh ointments on a head that's grey?

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conqueſt, and ſcrupled not to ſay, "That Agamemnon ſpent "ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barba-"rians, whereas he had taken the richeſt and moſt power-"ful city among the Ionians in nine months." And indeed he had reaſon to be proud of this achievement; for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain, ſince, according to Thucydides, ſuch was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of loſing the dominion of the ſea.

Some

* Yet Cicero tells us this Duris was a careful hiſtorian, *Homo in hiſtoria diligens*. This hiſtorian lived in the time of Ptolomy Philadelphus.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send succours to the inhabitants of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians*; which would be a means to fix in their interest an island whose navel forces were considerable, and might be of great service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, which they had all the reason in the world to expect would be soon. The succours were decreed accordingly, and Pericles sent Lacedæmonius to the son of Cimon with ten ships only, as if he designed nothing more than to disgrace him*. A mutual regard and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans, and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination, in order that, if nothing great or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods he endeavoured to hinder the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens, one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles however, finding himself greatly blamed about these ten gallies, an aid by no means sufficient to answer the purpose of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence to accuse him, sent another squadron to Corcyra‡, which did not arrive till the action was over.

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon, and the Megarensians at the same time alleged, that the Athenians would not suffer them come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out, thereby infringing the common privileges, and breaking the oath they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, too, privately acquainted

* This war was commenced about the little territory of Epidamnum, a city in Macedonia, founded by the Corcyrians.

† There seems to be very little colour for this hard assertion. Thucydides says, that the Athenians did not intend the Corcyrians any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on while the Corinthians and Corcyrians weakened and wasted each other.

‡ But this fleet, which consisted of twenty ships, prevented a second engagement, for which they were preparing.

quainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries done them by the Athenians, whom they durst not accuse openly. And at this very juncture, Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, but subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of its revolt, hastened on the war.

However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question, and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in war, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarensians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles, therefore, in exerting all his interest to oppose this measure, in retaining his enmity to the Megarensians, and working up the people to the same rancour was the sole author of the war.

It is said, that when the ambassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens*, Pericles pretended there was a law which forbad the taking down any tablet on which a decree of the people was written, "Then," said Polyarces, one of the ambassadors, "do not take it "down, but turn the other side outward; there is no law "against that." Notwithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, Pericles relented not in the least. He seems, indeed,

* The Lacedæmonian ambassadors demanded in the first place, the expulsion of those Athenians who were styled execrable on account of the old business of Cylon and his associates, because by his mother's side Pericles was allied to the family of Megacles; they next insisted that the siege of Potidæa should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the Megarensians, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of Athens on pain of death, should be revoked, and the Grecian states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of Athens.

Pericles represented to the Athenians, that, whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, the true ground of their resentment was the prosperity of the Athenian republic: that, nevertheless, it might be proposed, that the Athenians would reverse their decree against Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free egress and regress in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with Sparta, provided the Spartans would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them to hazard a war.

indeed, to have had ſome private pique againſt the Megarenſians, though the pretext he availed himſelf of in public was, that they had applied to profane uſes certain parcels of ſacred ground; and thereupon he procured a decree for an herald to be ſent to Megara and Lacedæmon to lay this charge againſt the Megarenſians. This decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald ſent with that commiſſion, loſing his life by the way, through ſome treachery (as was ſuppoſed) of the Megarenſians, Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and eternal enmity ſhould ſubſiſt between the Athenians and them; that if any Megarenſian ſhould ſet foot upon Attic ground, he ſhould be put to death; that to the oath which their generals uſed to take, this particular ſhould be added, that they would twice a year make an inroad into the territories of Megara; and that Anthemocritus ſhould be buried at the Thriaſian gate, now called *Dipylus*.

The Megarenſians, however, deny their being concerned in the murder of Anthemocritus*, and lay the war entirely at the door of Aſpaſia and Pericles; alleging in proof thoſe well-known verſes from the *Acharnenſes* of Ariſtophanes,

> The god of wine had with his *Thyrſus* ſmote
> Some youths, who in their madneſs ſtole from Megara
> The proſtitute *Simætha*: in revenge
> Two females, liberal of their ſmiles, were ſtolen
> From our *Aſpaſia's* train.

It is not, indeed, eaſy to diſcover what was the real origin of the war: but at the ſame time all agree, it was the fault of Pericles, that the decree againſt Megara was not annulled. Some ſay, his firmneſs in that caſe was the effect of his prudence and magnanimity, as he conſidered that demand only as a trial, and thought the leaſt conceſſion would be underſtood as an acknowledgment of weakneſs: but others will have it, that his treating the Lace-

* Thucydides takes no notice of this herald; and yet it is ſo certain that the Megarenſians were looked upon as the authors of the murder, that they were puniſhed for it many ages after: for on that account the Emperor Adrian denied them many favours and privileges which he granted to the other cities of Greece.

Lacedæmonians with ſo little ceremony, was owing to his obſtinacy and an ambition to diſplay his power.

But the worſt cauſe of all*, aſſigned for the war, and which, notwithſtanding, is confirmed by moſt hiſtorians, is as follows: Phidias the ſtatuary had undertaken (as we have ſaid) the ſtatue of Minerva. The friendſhip and influence he had with Pericles expoſed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who willing to make an experiment upon him, what judgment the people might paſs on Pericles himſelf, perſuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to place himſelf as a ſuppliant in the *Forum*, and to intreat the protection of the republic while he lodged an information againſt Phidias.

The people granting his requeſt, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought againſt him, was ſhewn to be groundleſs. For Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the firſt with ſo much art, that the gold with which the ſtatue was overlaid could eaſily be taken off and weighed: and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accuſers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy ariſing thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias; and it was particularly inſiſted upon, that in his repreſentation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's ſhield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a great ſtone with both hands†, and a high-finiſhed picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. The laſt was contrived with ſo much art, that the hand, which in lifting up the ſpear, partly covered the face, ſeemed to be intended to conceal the likeneſs, which yet was very ſtriking on both ſides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown into priſon, where he died a natural death‡; though ſome ſay, poiſon was given him by his enemies, who were deſirous of cauſing Pericles to be ſuſpected. As for the accuſer Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted

* Pericles, when he ſaw his friends proſecuted, was apprehenſive of a proſecution himſelf, and therefore haſtened on a rupture with the Peloponneſians, to turn the attention of the people to war.

† They inſiſted that thoſe modern figures impeached the credit of the ancient hiſtory, which did ſo much honour to Athens, and their founder Theſeus.

‡ Others ſay, that he was baniſhed, and that in his exile he made the famous ſtatue of Jupiter at Olympia.

granted him, at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his ſecurity.

About this time Aſpaſia was proſecuted for impiety by Hermippus a comic poet, who likewiſe accuſed her of receiving into her houſe women above the condition of ſlaves for the pleaſure of Pericles. And Diopithes procured a decree, that thoſe who diſputed the exiſtence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celeſtial appearances, ſhould be tried before an aſſembly of the people. This charge was levelled firſt at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was propoſed by Dracontides, that Pericles ſhould give an account of the public money before the *Prytanes*, and that the judges ſhould take the ballots from the altar*, and try the cauſe in the city. But Agnon cauſed the laſt article to be dropt, and inſtead thereof, it was voted that the action ſhould be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for *peculation*, and *taking of bribes*, or ſimply for *corrupt practices*.

Aſpaſia was acquitted†, though much againſt the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who (according to Æſchines) ſhed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the ſame indulgence for Anaxagoras ‡, and therefore cauſed him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as he himſelf was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in queſtion for it, he urged on the war which as yet was uncertain, and blew up

* In ſome extraordinary caſes where the judges were to proceed with the greateſt exactneſs and ſolemnity, they were to take ballots or billets from the altar, and to inſcribe their judgment upon them; or rather to take the black and the white bean, ψηφον. What Plutarch means by *trying the cauſe in the city*, is not eaſy to determine, unleſs by the *city* we are to underſtand *the full aſſembly of the people*. By the fifteen hundred judges mentioned in the next ſentence, is probably meant the court of *Heliæa*, ſo called becauſe the judges ſat in the open air expoſed to the ſun; for this court on extraordinary occaſions conſiſted of that number.

† Πολλα πανυ παρα την δικην——

‡ Anaxagoras held the unity of God; that it was one allwiſe Intelligence which raiſed the beautiful ſtructure of the world out of the Chaos. And if ſuch was the opinion of the maſter, it was natural for the people to conclude, that his ſcholar Pericles was againſt the Polytheiſm of the times.

up that flame which till then, was ſtifled and ſuppreſſed. By this means he hoped to obivate the accuſations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, becauſe ſuch was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. Theſe are ſaid to be the reaſons which induced him to perſuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians: but what was the real cauſe is quite uncertain.

The Lacedæmonians, perſuaded, that if they could remove Pericles out of the way, they ſhould be better able to manage the Athenians, required them to baniſh all *execrable* perſons from among them: and Pericles (as Thucydides informs us) was by his mother's ſide related to thoſe that were pronounced *execrable,* in the affair of Cylon. The ſucceſs, however, of this application proved the reverſe of what was expected by thoſe that ordered it. Inſtead of rendering Pericles ſuſpected, or involving him in trouble, it procured him the more confidence and reſpect from the people, when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. For the ſame reaſon he forewarned the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponneſians, and ravaged the reſt of the country, ſhould ſpare his eſtate, it muſt be owing either to the rights of hoſpitality that ſubſiſted between them, or to a deſign to furniſh his enemies with matter of ſlander, and therefore from that hour he gave his lands and houſes to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army under the conduct of Archidamus; and laying waſte all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ *, where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them ſo near, but meet them in the field for the honour and ſafety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of ſixty thouſand men, (for ſuch was the number of the Peloponneſians and Bœotians employed in the firſt expedition) and by that ſtep to riſk no leſs than the preſervation of the city itſelf. As to thoſe that were eager for an engagement,

* The borough of Acharnæ was only fifteen hundred paces from the city.

gagement, and uneaſy at his ſlow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reaſon by obſerving, "That trees, "when lopped, will ſoon grow again; but when men "are cut off, the loſs is not eaſily repaired."

In the mean time he took care to hold no aſſembly of the people, leſt he ſhould be forced to act againſt his own opinion. But as a good pilot, when a ſtorm ariſes at ſea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uſes his art, regardleſs of the tears and intreaties of the ſick and fearful paſſengers; ſo Pericles, when he had ſecured the gates, and placed the guards in every quarter, to the beſt advantage, followed the dictates of his own underſtanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that reſounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithſtanding the importunity of his friends, and the threats and accuſations of his enemies notwithſtanding the many ſcoffs and ſongs ſung to vilify his character as a general, and to repreſent him as one who in the moſt daſtardly manner, betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon* too attacked him with great acrimony, making uſe of the general reſentment againſt Pericles, as a means to increaſe his own popularity, as Hermippus teſtifies in theſe verſes,

> Sleeps then, thou king of ſatyrs, ſleeps the ſpear,
> While thund'ring words make war? why boaſt thy proweſs,
> Yet ſhudder at the ſound of ſharpen'd ſwords,
> Spite of the flaming Cleon?

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and ſilently bore all this diſgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out an hundred ſhips, and ſent them againſt Pelopenneſus, yet he did not ſail with them, but choſe to ſtay and watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands, until the Peloponneſians were gone. In order to ſatisfy the common people, who were very uneaſy on account of the war, he made a diſtribution of money and lands: for having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the iſland by lot among the Athenians. Beſides, the ſufferings of the enemy afforded

* The ſame Cleon that Ariſtophanes ſatirized. By his harangues and politial intrigues, he got himſelf appointed general. See a farther account of hin in the life of Nicias,

forded them ſome conſolation. The fleet ſent againſt Peloponneſus, ravaged a large tract of country, and ſacked the ſmall towns and villages: and Pericles himſelf made a deſcent upon the territories of Megara *, which he laid waſte. Whence it appears †, that though the Peloponneſians greatly diſtreſſed the Athenians by land, yet as they were equally diſtreſſed by ſea, they could not have drawn out the war to ſo great a length, but muſt ſoon have given it up (as Pericles foretold from the beginning) had not ſome divine power prevented the effect of human counſels. A peſtilence at that time broke out ‡, which deſtroyed the flower of the youth and the ſtrength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were affected: for, as perſons delirious with a fever, ſet themſelves againſt a phyſician or a father, ſo they raved againſt Pericles, and attempted his ruin; being perſuaded by his enemies, that the ſickneſs was occaſioned by the multitude of out-dwellers flocking into the city, and a number of people ſtuffed together in the height of ſummer, in ſmall huts and cloſe cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy inactive life, inſtead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accuſtomed. They would needs have it, that he was the cauſe of all this, who, when the war began, admitted within the walls, ſuch crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them, but let them continue penned up like cattle, to infect and deſtroy each other, without affording them the leaſt relief or refreſhment.

Deſirous to remedy this calamity, and withal in ſome degree to annoy the enemy, he manned an hundred and fifty ſhips, on which he embarked great numbers of ſelect horſe and foot, and was preparing to ſet ſail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of ſucceſs, and the enemy no leſs dreaded ſo great an armament. The whole fleet was in readineſs, and Pericles on board his own

* He did not undertake this expedition until autumn, when the Lacedæmonians were retired. In the winter of this year, the Athenians ſolemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of ſuch as firſt died in the war. Pericles pronounced the oration on that occaſion, which Thucydides has preſerved.

† ἦ καὶ δῆλον———

‡ See this plague excellently deſcribed by Thucydides, who had it himſelf. Lib. ii. prop. init.

own galley, when there happened an eclipſe of the ſun. This ſudden darkneſs was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greateſt conſternation. Pericles obſerving that the pilot was much aſtoniſhed and perplexed, took his cloak, and having covered his eyes with it, aſked him, "If he found any thing terrible in that, or conſidered it as a ſad preſage?" upon his anſwering in the negative, he ſaid, "Where is the difference, then between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloak cauſes the eclipſe?" But this is a queſtion which is diſcuſſed in the ſchools of philoſophy.

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of ſo great an equipment. He laid ſiege to the ſacred city of Epidaurus *, and at firſt with ſome rational hopes of ſucceſs †; but the diſtemper which prevailed in his army, broke all his meaſures. For it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourſe with them. As this ill ſucceſs ſet the Athenians againſt him, he endeavoured to conſole them under their loſſes, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their reſentment, nor could they be ſatisfied, until they had ſhewed themſelves maſters by voting that he ſhould be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which, by the loweſt account, was fifteen talents; ſome make it fifty. The perſon that carried on the proſecution againſt him, was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; or, according to Theophraſtus, Simmias; or Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides of Pontus.

The public ferment, indeed, ſoon ſubſided, the people quitting their reſentment with that blow, as a bee leaves its ſting in the wound: but his private affairs were in a miſerable condition, for he had loſt a number of his relations in the plague, and a miſunderſtanding had prevailed for ſome time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldeſt of his legitimate ſons, was naturally profuſe, and beſides had married a young and expenſive wife, daughter to Iſander, and grand-daughter to Epylicus. He knew not how

* This Epidaurus was in Argeia. It was conſecrated to Eſculapius: and Plutarch calls it *ſacred*, to diſtinguiſh it from another town of the ſame name in Laconia.

† Ελπιδα παρασχουσαν ὠς ἁλωσομενην——

how to brook his father's frugality, who ſupplied him but ſparingly, and with a little at a time, and therefore ſent to one of his friends and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refuſed to pay him, but even proſecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was ſo highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuſe his father. Firſt he expoſed and ridiculed the company he kept in his houſe, and the converſations he held with the philoſophers. He ſaid, that Epitimius the Pharſalian, having undeſignedly killed a horſe with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father ſpent a whole day in diſputing with Protogorus, which might be properly deemed the cauſe of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the preſidents of the games. Steſimbrotus adds, that it was Xanthippus who ſpread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable hatred againſt his father to his lateſt breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles loſt his ſiſter too at that time, and the greateſt part of his relations and friends, who were moſt capable of aſſiſting him in the buſineſs of the ſtate. Notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, he loſt not his dignity of ſentiment and greatneſs of ſoul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he ſeen at the grave of any of his neareſt relations, until the death of Paralus, his laſt ſurviving legitimate ſon. This at laſt ſubdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his uſual calm behaviour and ſerenity of mind; but, in putting the garland upon the head of the deceaſed, his firmneſs forſook him; he could not bear the ſad ſpectacle; he broke out into loud lamentation, and ſhed a torrent of tears: a paſſion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial, in the courſe of a year of the reſt of her generals and orators, and finding none of ſufficient weight and authority for ſo important a charge, ſhe once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. He had for ſome time ſhut himſelf up at home to indulge his ſorrow, when Alcibiades, and his other friends, perſuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment

 of

of him, he re-aſſumed the reins of government, and being appointed general, his firſt ſtep was to procure the repeal of the law concerning baſtards, of which he himſelf had been the author; for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct for want of a ſucceſſor. The hiſtory of that law is as follows: Many years before, Pericles in the height of his power, and having ſeveral legitimate ſons, (as we have already related) cauſed a law to be made, that none ſhould be accounted citizens of Athens, but thoſe whoſe parents were both Athenians *. After this, the King of Egypt made the Athenians a preſent of forty thouſand medimni of wheat, and as this was to be divided among the citizens, many perſons were proceeded againſt as illegitimate upon that law, whoſe birth had never before been called in queſtion, and many were diſgraced upon falſe accuſations. Near five thouſand were caſt, and ſold for ſlaves †; and fourteen thouſand and forty appeared to be entitled to the privilege of citizens ‡. Though it was unequitable and ſtrange, that a law, which had been put in execution with ſo much ſeverity, ſhould be repealed by the man who firſt propoſed it, yet the Athenians moved at the late misfortunes in his family, by which he ſeemed to have ſuffered the puniſhment of his arrogance and pride, and thinking he ſhould be treated with humanity, after he had felt the wrath of Heaven, permitted him to enrol a natural ſon in his own tribe, and to give him his own name. This is he who afterwards defeated the Peloponneſians in a ſea-fight at Arginuſæ, and was put to death by the people, together with his colleagues ||.

About

* According to Plutarch's account at the beginning of the life of Themiſtocles, this law was made before the time of Pericles. Pericles, however, might put it more ſtrictly in execution than it had been before, from a ſpirit of oppoſition to Cimon, whoſe children were only of the half blood.

† The illegitimacy did not reduce men to a ſtate of ſervitude; it only placed them in the rank of ſtrangers.

‡ A ſmall number indeed, at a time when Athens had dared to think of ſending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, ſubduing foreigners, and even of erecting an univerſal monarchy.

|| The Athenians had appointed ten commanders on that occaſion. After they had obtained the victory they were tried, and eight of them were capitally condemned, of whom ſix that were on the ſpot were executed,

About this time Pericles was ſeized with the plague, but not with ſuch acute and continued ſymptoms as it generally ſhews. It was rather a lingering diſtemper, which, with frequent intermiſſions, and by ſlow degrees, conſumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophraſtus has a diſquiſition in his Ethics, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the ſoul ſo affected with the diſorders of the body as to loſe her virtue; and there he relates, that Pericles ſhewed to a friend who came to viſit him in his ſickneſs, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck, intimating that he muſt be ſick indeed, ſince he ſubmitted to ſo ridiculous a piece of ſuperſtition*.

When he was at the point of death, his ſurviving friends and the principal citizens ſitting about his bed, diſcourſed together concerning his extraordinary virtue and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits and the number of his victories: for, while he was commander in chief, he had erected no leſs than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. Theſe things they talked of, ſuppoſing that he attended not to what they ſaid, but that his ſenſes were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had ſpoken, and thereupon delivered himſelf audibly as follows, "I am ſurpriſed, "that while you dwell upon and extol theſe acts of mine, "though fortune had her ſhare in them, and many other "generals have performed the like, you take no notice "of the greateſt and moſt honourable part of my cha-"racter, *that no* Athenian, *through my means, ever put on* "*mourning*."

Pericles

executed, and this natural ſon of Pericles was one of them. The only crime laid to their charge, was, that they had not buried the dead. Xenophon, in his Grecian hiſtory, has given a large account of this affair. It happened under the archonſhip of Callias, the ſecond year of the ninety third olympiad, twenty four years after the death of Pericles. Socrates the philoſopher was at that time one of the Prytanes, and reſolutely refuſed to do his office. And a little while after the madneſs of the people turned the other way.

* It does not appear by this that his underſtanding was weakened, ſince he knew the *charm* to be a ridiculous piece of ſuperſtition, and ſhewed it to his friend as ſuch; but only that in his extreme ſickneſs he had not reſolution enough to refuſe what he was ſenſible would do him no good.

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained, amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most excellent attainment, never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion, this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole adminstration, makes his appellation of Oylmpius, which would be otherwise be vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable, nay, gives it a propriety. Thus we think the divine powers, as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe. Not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavoured to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency, by their own writing. For they represent the place which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds; where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure *æther* displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet, at the same time, they represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man. But this by the bye.

The state of public affairs soon shewed the want of Pericles*, and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those, who, in his lifetime, could but ill brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate, or if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity, than Pericles. And his so much envied authority, to which they had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bulwark of the

* Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, that is the last year of the eighty-seventh olympiad, and 428 years before the Christian æra.

the ſtate. So much corruption and ſuch a rage of wickedneſs broke out upon the commonwealth after his death which he by proper reſtraints had palliated *, and kept from dangerous and deſtructive extremities!

* Pericles did indeed palliate the diſtempers of the commonwealth while he lived, but (as we have obſerved before) he ſowed the ſeeds of them, by bribing the people with their own money; with which they were as much pleaſed as if it had been his.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.